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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

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LULWORTH CASTLE: ITS HISTORY AND MEMORIES

Lulworth Castle, the scene of the consecration of Dr. John Carroll, and the birthplace of the American Episcopate, though not in itself specially interesting from an historical or architectural standpoint, being a comparatively recent erection on the site of a much older building, is yet for the above reason, and as the house of an old English Catholic family, full of memories and associations, and is well worthy of a visit from those who desire to steep themselves for an hour in the atmosphere of the old penal times. And though according to English standards the building is modern—a mere Tudor-Jacobean imitation of the ancient mediæval castle of which England still happily possesses many an example, it is a very impressive feature in a beautiful landscape, in the midst of its rolling acres of thickly-wooded parkland; its grey towers and lofty battlemented walls rising foursquare against a fine background of sweeping cedars and the heavy summer foliage of elms and beeches. The park indeed, carpeted with that resilient velvety green turf only to be found to perfection in such a place, can compare favourably with most of its size throughout England; and the great herd of fallow deer, white and tawny, scattered under the shadow of the distant trees, adds to the beauty of a very attractive picture.

Dorsetshire, one of the least known of English counties, with inferior railway facilities and for the most part a difficult and dangerous coast, has its own unique attractions. The whole district is interesting to the archeologist, and exceptionally so to the geologist, to whom the ceaseless "waste" of the coast-line lays bare many curious formations and faults, and even valuable discoveries, such as the "fossil forest," between Lulworth Cove and Arish Mel, the

headland of East Lulworth, where the trunks of huge trees may be seen from the sea, far above high-water mark, petrified within the cliff. Less barren and bare than its neighbour Wiltshire, Dorset yet possesses miles of uncultivated chalk down-land, exposed and bleak, especially along the coast; alternating with picturesque but unfruitful sandy stretches clothed with pines, and carpeted with golden gorse and purple heather, like the famous Branksome Chine, which lies on the eastern boundary of the county; and a few miles beyond which, across the level plain of the Christchurch Avon, rise the outlying trees of the New Forest. Inland, however, Dorset is almost as rich a pasture-land as Devonshire; a great county for agriculture; celebrated indeed in this regard by the English author Thomas Hardy, the scene of one of whose most famous novels is laid within a few miles of Lulworth. Fruitful, pastoral, and peaceful, a land of quiet streams, deep woods, and rich fields of corn and clover, Dorset, to an American traveller, must present an ideal picture of rural England at her best. Notable too are the charming close-nestling country villages; the whitewashed, thick-thatched houses with small leaded windows set deep under their eaves, and little gardens gay with summer flowers, dotted about in irregular groups, generally with but slight relation to their centre, the ancient church, or the village green. Others again run down the steep sides of a cove towards the blue sea; built half into the cliff like the steps of a gigantic staircase. Of the first type the village of East Lulworth, which has scarcely changed within the last two centuries, is a perfect example; of the second, West Lulworth, or as it is usually called, Lulworth Cove, three miles to the southwest of the Castle.

It may not be without interest to take a brief survey of the history of Lulworth Castle, close-knit as it is with that of its founders and of the ancient possessors of the estate, which today comprises some 45,000 acres, including parkland, villages, barren down, and large tracts under cultivation, together with much valuable woodland. The earliest occupiers of Lulvorde or Loloworde as it is called in Domesday Book, were the De Lolleworths; but it is not clear whether they had a moiety of the estate, or were merely tenants of the De Newburgh family, who certainly held part of it under John and Edward I.; and later on, the whole.[1] That a castle

[1] By 2. Edward I., Walter Nonsuch and Hugo de Roches were required to shew their right to the custody of the heir and lands of William de Lolleworth,

existed here in the first half of the XII. century appears from the fact that in 1142 Robert Earl of Gloucester held the castle of "Lullewarde" for the Empress Maude. The Newburghs were descended from the ancient Earls of Warwick, and seem to have held Lulworth from the beginning of the XIV. century, adding to their possessions by rich marriages, especially with the noble families of Marney and De Poynings, until Elizabeth, younger grand-daughter of that Roger Newburgh who was knighted in 1494 at the creation of the Dukedom of York, married Thomas Howard, who in 1559 had been created Viscount Howard of Bindon by Elizabeth Tudor; and thus the Bindon estates came to Lulworth.

The elder sister of Elizabeth Howard, Catherine, had married a De Poynings, but at her early death her share of the family property reverted to Elizabeth, whose husband, the second son of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, thus became one of the largest land owners in the South of England. Thrice married, this nobleman left two sons, Henry and Thomas, the elder of whom in 1582 inherited the estates of Lulworth, which now largely consisted of confiscated Church property, made over to Howard of Bindon between 1559-1573 by successive royal grants, one of the most important of which was Bindon Abbey. Coker, the Dorsetshire antiquarian, writing in 1732, tells us that the husband of Catherine Poynings had built "upon her patrimonie, an House, and called it after his own name, Mount Poynings, which Thomas [a misprint for Henry] second Viscount Bindon, sonne of Thomas Howard and Elizabeth Marney [and Catherine's nephew] pulled downe, when hee built his new Castell at Lullworth . . . where you may see a fine Castell mounted on high with turrets at each corner, well seated for Prospect and Pleasure, but of little other use, though it stands adjoineing to the Sea." The existing Castle was thus begun by Henry Howard in 1588. It was constructed of the materials of the Mount Poynings house, and of Bindon Abbey, regarding which latter place we may again quote Coker. "Here in our Fore-

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of East Lolleworth, held of the King. Hugo acknowledged that he held them of the King and Walter that he held them of Hugo. By 28. Edward I., William, son and heir of Reginald of East Lolleworth granted to John de Novo Burgo and Elizabeth his wife and their heirs, all their rights in this matter, for which they paid to Reginald 100 marks sterling, and by another agreement, £200. The subsequent quarrels as to the tenure of one messuage were finally settled by its release, under 2. Edward III., to John de Novo Burgo.

fathers' dayes stood a faire Monasterie of White Cisterion [*sic*] Monks, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, built and endowed, as Leland writeth, by the Newburghs for their sepulchre, who had a faire Manoure place near adjoineing, at Lulworth." The Abbey, a valuable though not very extensive possession, had been one of the first to fall, in 1534. "As to the Abbie" (as Coker says of Sherborne), "it came to an Ende in Henry the Eighth." From every standpoint of history and archæology Bindon is of incomparably greater interest than Lulworth, which lies three miles or so distant. Space, however, forbids a detailed description of its pathetic and moss-grown ruins; the broken cells of the nine monks, who, with the Lord Abbot, made up the community. The fishponds still exist, with their sluices, moat-like round a square central island, with broad mossy paths skirting the quiet water; the whole roofed into a cool green stillness by the thick foliage of over-arching trees, the home of nightingales and many rarer birds. It is one of the most beautiful and perfect monastic ruins in England, eloquent of the past; and surely one of the least known. Here is the Dower-House of the Weld family, and here, close to the ancient gate-house, a small Catholic Chapel has been arranged, which, like the two at East and West Lulworth, is served by Benedictine monks from Downside.[2] With these mossy ruins, with these cool and shady paths beside the ancient fishponds, we cannot doubt that Bishop Carroll was familiar. Here, surely he often walked during those August days of 1790, meditating, amongst the relics of the broken Faith of England once Catholic, upon its glorious resurrection in his own beloved land of America.

To return to Lulworth Castle. Its founder, the second Henry Howard, dying (1590) without issue, the estates reverted to his younger brother Thomas. Already the curse on the receivers of the confiscated Church lands had descended upon the apostate family. Thomas also died childless (1619), leaving his property to another Thomas Howard, his kinsman, who had been created first Lord

[2] To the two priests engaged upon these missions, Dom Maurus Suter, O. S. B. and Dom Odo Langdale, O. S. B., the present writer is indebted for much of the material of this paper. The latter, a cousin of the Weld family, most kindly devoted many hours to doing the honours of Lulworth Castle and of Bindon Abbey; and through his help and influence it became possible to explore the Castle to the very roof, and to see much which would be overlooked by the casual visitor.

Howard de Walden in 1596, and in 1603 Earl of Suffolk.[3] The Lulworth property was entailed upon several members of the same family. But the new owner cared little for Lulworth. He was engaged in building his new great house at Audley End, near Saffron Walden in Essex, a far more impressive and splendid place than Lulworth; the park being especially remarkable for its magnificent oaks and beeches, though the situation of the house is far less healthy. Lulworth, indeed, was almost entirely neglected, for the castle was little more than a shell. Though the actual building was finished in 1609, only a few rooms were habitable when, after the death (1626) of the first Earl of Suffolk (who was buried at Saffron Walden), his son and heir Theophilus came down (1635) to pass a few weeks upon his inheritance in Dorsetshire. It is clear that none of this branch of the family cared in the least for the place. Dorset was far from the eastern counties in which the bulk of the Howard property lay; and on the death of Theophilus Howard in 1640, we find his son James, the new master of Lulworth, hastily selling the unfinished castle and the whole of the Lulworth estates (January 2, 1642) to one Humphrey Weld, of Holdwell, in Hatfield, Hertfordshire. Thus did the stolen Church lands come into Catholic hands, under God's providence; though Dr. Oliver, no mean authority, declares that in his opinion Humphrey Weld was the first Catholic of the family—since the general apostasy under Elizabeth. Two years later the "old rents" of Lulworth, amounting to £6.14, were sequestered to the Crown, and Mr. Weld paid £981 "for delinquency."

Humphrey Weld was a rich man, the grandson of that Sir Humphrey Weld who built Aldgate, was High Sheriff of London in 1599, and Lord Mayor in 1609, dying the following year. A certain Sir John Weld, stated by Oliver to be the brother and by Hutchins in his *Pedigree* to be the son of this gentleman, was the father of the new owner of Lulworth. Sir John Weld was evidently of the "Queen's Religion," for he built and endowed a chapel at Southgate, which was consecrated by King, Bishop of London, in 1675. Humphrey Weld the younger had married Clara, youngest daughter of Lord Arundell of Wardour, one of our finest old Eng-

[3] Walden is another instance of confiscated Church property. Part of the beautiful old brick monastery, built round two square courts, and today used as almshouses still stands just outside the park walls of Audley End.

lish Catholic families, henceforward to be connected with ties of blood and friendship with that of Weld. It says much for Mr. Weld's personal character and tact that in spite of his religion he was immediately placed on the Commission of Peace for Dorset, and was moreover, Governor of the neighboring Isle of Portland, offices which he still held at the time of the Titus Oates Plot (1678), though he was deprived of them both next year at the petition of the Lords to the Crown.

Little of the interior of the Castle was finished when Weld took it over, and made it what it was to be henceforth, a stronghold of the Catholic Faith in the West Country. Dorsetshire had suffered heavily during the persecutions, and was still suffering in the penal days of 1641. The Catholic Church, says Dr. Oliver, was there honored "by the constancy and heroic fidelity of its votaries. For in this county, persecution assumed the character of inhuman brutality. Whoever peruses the sufferings of some of its martyrs, especially Fathers Pilchard and Green, might suppose that he was reading the bloody feats of Indian savages and cannibals, not the conduct of Englishmen and Christian Protestants."[4] Mr. Weld died in 1685, leaving no son, and was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster Abbey—a fact for which it is difficult to account. His ownership of Lulworth coincided with the troublous period of the Great Rebellion, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration, ending with the accession of James II. Twice, in 1643 and 1644, Lulworth was held by a Parliamentary garrison against the King. There is nothing in the Weld archives to explain how this came about, though Mr. Weld was certainly a Royalist.[5] He left Lulworth to his cousin

[4] *Collections Illustrating the History of the Catholic Church in England.* Pt. I, p. 35. London, 1857.

[5] It may be stated here that researches among the Weld archives proved entirely disappointing. Beyond one or two interesting family and personal documents, not relating to the history of Lulworth, and certificates of the receipt of fines paid to the Government for recusancy and for not attending the Protestant services in the former Catholic Church (which still exists), there is nothing of any importance whatsoever. Most of the remaining documents are copies of leases and estate papers of no historical value. This was accounted for mainly by the fact that a large number of valuable MSS. have been "lent, and not returned." There is not (e. g.) the slightest mention of Bishop Carroll in any of the existing papers; neither of his visit nor of his consecration. One letter from Dr. Walmesley exists, written before his consecration, in 1755, to Mr. Weld, but it is brief, of one page only, and relates to the good effects which

William Weld (1650-1698). This gentleman married Elizabeth Shireburn, and their son, another Humphrey Weld, who died in 1722, was the father of Edward Weld (1705-1761), whose courteous and amiable character won golden opinions in the county during his lifetime, and a lavish eulogy from a contemporary historian after his death. His first wife, the Hon. Catherine Aston, divorced him, in a cause which at the time was notorious; and it says much for Mr. Weld that the cruel wrong done to him derogated in no way from the popular opinion of his worth. In 1740, his first wife having died the previous year, he married most happily Mary Teresa Vaughan, of Courtfield; the first, but not the last alliance between this historic family and the Welds. She was the mother of several children; her eldest son Edward, who died (1775) without issue, having married a few weeks before his death, as his second wife, the beautiful Mary Smyth of Brambridge, who was later to become the celebrated Mrs. Fitzherbert, wife of the Prince of Wales. The younger Edward Weld was succeeded by his brother, Thomas Weld, who had married three years previously Mary Massey, daughter of Lord Stanley, and who became the father of nine children. He it is who was the close personal friend of Bishop Walmesley, and of other prelates; of the families of Plowden of Plowden and Arundell of Wardour; the father of one Cardinal and the grandfather of another —the late Cardinal Vaughan; the friend and host of King George III.; the builder of the "New Chapel" at Lulworth; and last, though not least, the "acquaintance" as he modestly says himself, of the first Catholic Bishop of the United States, who came at his personal invitation to be consecrated at Lulworth. It may be added that the "acquaintance" was to ripen into a close and steady friendship.

It is unnecessary to relate the circumstances which culminated in Dr. Carroll's consecration as Bishop of Baltimore. But, in studying them, the question naturally arises: why did that consecration take place at Lulworth? To answer it we must recall the events which led to Dr. Carroll's first visit to England. A native of Maryland, John Carroll had entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, in Belgium, in 1753; and at the date of its suppression by Pope Clement XIV. (July 21, 1773), he was a professor in the college recently removed from Saint Omer to Bruges. When this

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the writer hoped to enjoy from the sea-bathing during his approaching visit to Lulworth. It was not of sufficient general interest to make it worth copying.

terrible blow fell, Dr. Carroll, who had for some time foreseen it, came to England in the company of his friend, Father Charles Plowden, also of the Society, and passed several months at his home, Plowden Hall, at Lydbury, Shropshire. Father Plowden was an intimate friend of the Welds, and of the other great Catholic families, including the Arundells of Wardour. During the winter of 1773-4, Dr. Carroll passed much time at Wardour Castle, as the guest and chaplain of Lord Arundell, and was indeed earnestly requested by that nobleman to make his home there. He felt bound to refuse this offer; but before his return to Maryland (June, 1774) it is probable that he visited Lulworth, where his friend Father Plowden was then tutor to Mr. Weld's sons. It is certain that he met that gentleman, and that Mr. Weld was deeply impressed by Dr. Carroll. Thus, when (1788) the question of the American Hierarchy was first mooted, Mr. Weld wrote to his old "acquaintance," earnestly begging him, in the case of his elevation to the episcopate, to come to Lulworth for his consecration.

By the Papal Bull of November 9, 1789, Pope Pius VI. had conferred on the Bishop-elect the faculty of receiving the rite of consecration from any Catholic Bishop holding communion with the Apostolical See. Dr. Carroll's own thoughts would naturally have turned—he writes to Archbishop Troy (July 23, 1790)—to Ireland or Canada, had he not already promised "unwarily" to be consecrated in Mr. Weld's Chapel. Still, though he would not have chosen England, he recognized in the invitation the hand of Divine Providence, hoping that great blessing might accrue to the cause of religion, from that country to his new, vast diocese. Among the Archives of the Western Province is preserved the letter written by Mr. Weld to Bishop Walmesley, V. A. of the Western district, informing him of Dr. Carroll's approaching arrival.[6]

My Lord Lulworth Castle, June 28th, 1790.

I am much obliged to your Lordship for your last kind letter, was glad to find by it you was well and than (*sic*) we would have the pleasure of your company. I have now a great favor to beg of yr. Lordship. You must know that

[6] By the kind permission of the Rt. Rev. G. A. Burton, Bishop of Clifton, the present writer was enabled to discover this and the following letter. The Bishop was under the impression that a third letter existed, written by Dr. Carroll to Bp. Walmesley after the return of the former to Baltimore, thanking him for performing the rite of consecration. Diligent search, however, failed to reveal it.

the Revd. Mr. Carroll in Maryland has lately been appointed Bishop of Baltimore by the Pope, he only received his bulls in April last, by which he is appointed Bishop, to fix his see where he thinks most proper and get himself Consecrated where he finds it most Convenient. He is now Coming to England for that purpose, and as he is an acquaintance of mine and a great friend of Mr. Plowdens I invited him to my house to be Consecrated in my Chapel if yr. Lordship and Mr. Sharrock have no Objection to perform the Ceremony.[7]

I should be glad to have the favour of an answer & if yr. Lordship has no objection if you could come here a week or two sooner than what you mention it would be the more agreeable for I expect Mr. Carroll may be here in a fortnight or three weeks and I apprehend he will be in a hurry to return. I think if this meets with yr. Lordship's approbation the less it is spoken off the better, the more private it can be done the better. I suppose yr. Lordship has seen Mr. Throckmorton's publication on the elections of Bishops you see what things are come to, and what they will come to and where our afflictions will end the Lord only knows.

Mrs. Weld and all here unite in compts. to yr. Lordship I remain with the gtest. regard yr. obedt. humble servt. Thomas Weld.

Though it is always taken for granted that Bishop Carroll was consecrated in the New Chapel in the park (built 1786), there is, curiously enough, a very strong tradition at Lulworth that the ceremony took place within the castle, either (a) in the private chapel, or oratory, (b) in the dining-room, (c) in the present drawing-room, at that time called the "saloon," the drawing-room being upstairs.[8]

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[7] Dr. William G. Sharrock (titular Bishop of Telmessus), b. 1742, c. 1780, s. 1797, d. 1809. He was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Walmesley in 1780. He was not present, however, at Dr. Carroll's consecration.

[8] The private chapel in Lulworth Castle is a tower room on the ground floor. Its atmosphere is peculiarly devotional, and the small window over the altar is filled with curious and very beautiful old Dutch medallions of stained glass, representing Biblical subjects, in gold, amber and blue. Close to it is the dining-room, hung with family portraits, including a very fine one of Bishop Carroll's host, Thomas Weld, who must have been a typical, handsome English country gentleman; and another of his son, Cardinal Weld. Two large pillars, towards one end of the apartment, are placed in such a position that the space behind them would well form a sanctuary. The "saloon," or drawing-room, is 46 feet long and 25 feet broad, by 20 feet high; a fine room, containing at one end a small organ, and at the other, beneath a large window, a dais approached by steps, railed off from the rest of the apartment. Those who argue that the consecration took place within the castle say that the oratory being too small for so great a function, it was held in one of these two rooms. The dining-room, being nearer the chapel, has, they say, some claim to consideration; but the drawing-room, with its dais on which a temporary altar could conveniently be placed, was far more suitable for the ceremony. The present writer, however, has authority for saying that the turret-chapel was not too small for a consecration such as Dr. Carroll's, where everything was done "as privately as possible," and where there was (by special Pontifical permission) only one consecrating prelate.

One sentence in Mr. Weld's letter, quoted above, may be claimed to give color to this theory: "the less it is spoken of the better; the more private it can be done, the better." That it was kept absolutely private is proved by the fact that in no London paper of the time was any mention made of it at all. It must be confessed that this theory is entirely unsupported save for the three points of (a) the Lulworth tradition; (b) the sentence in Mr. Weld's letter; (c) the fact that to the general world the ceremony seems to have been quite unknown.[9] On the other hand the evidence for the "New Chapel," which now serves as the Catholic Church of East Lulworth is overwhelming. We have (a) the general tradition that this building is the cradle of the American Episcopate; (b) the fact that Father Plowden, preaching "in the Chapel of Lulworth Castle" (which was dedicated to Our Lady), speaks of Mr. Weld as "the founder of this holy sanctuary," which would henceforth be venerated as the spot where the American Episcopacy took its rise, "a precious distinction," which "will be justly attributed to the protection and favor of the glorious Mother of God, whose house it is." This description could scarcely be applied to the chapel within the castle. Further, there is (c) the contemporary account referred to, which says: "the consecration of the new Bishop was performed during a Solemn High Mass in the elegant chapel of Lulworth Castle. . . . and the munificence of (Mr. Weld) omitted no circumstance which could possibly add dignity to so venerable a ceremony." This would

[9] All the existing files of London newspapers of August, 1790, and onwards to December, in the British Museum, have been carefully searched for any mention of the fact, but in vain. Also, contemporary files of Boston and New York Journals, with the same result. The account of the Consecration, however, was published (probably for private circulation) in London (1790) as a small pamphlet, which also contains Fr. Charles Plowden's sermon on the occasion. This was reprinted in facsimile (1876) for the Historical Club of New York, and is therefore familiar to American readers. The title here given to it, on the outer cover is: *An Account of the Consecration by One Bishop, a Bishop 'in partibus,' of the first Romish Bishop in the United States of America.* In the *Notes* to this reprint, the "Romish Hierarchy in this country" is said to have begun "with a most irregular consecration by *one* bishop—a bishop 'in partibus'; and this, as will be seen, authorized by a Papal Bull." It would almost seem as if the writer of this criticism had construed '*in partibus*' as '*partly*'; and was not acquainted with the text of the Bull in question. He tells us that the care taken in the consecration of the earliest Protestant Bishop in U. S. A. was "in marked contrast" with that of Dr. Carroll, all being done "in accordance with the ancient canons."

seem to indicate that Mr. Weld had reconsidered his strong desire for privacy. But, if other evidence is needed, the strongest of all will be found in the following letter of Bishop Carroll to Bishop Walmesley, now in the Archives of the Western Province.[10]

My Lord: Baltimore, March 22, 1791.

I should be little deserving of the regard with which your Lordship honoured me, and of the desire of hearing from me, which you were pleased to express, if I were to neglect the present opportunity of renewing my professions of sincere esteem; and of joining my congratulations to those, which you have received already, on the prospect of there being an end to those commotions, which agitated English Catholics. My warm attachment to their general welfare, and the particular friendship, which I feel for many individuals amongst them, render me attentive to, and deeply interested in their concerns. I impute much of the tranquillity, which they are likely to enjoy, to your authority, your pastoral sollicitude, & and the power of your prayers. God in his Goodness will preserve your Lordship, I trust, in health, to consolidate the happiness, to which you have been so instrumental. Here, Divine Providence seems to open upon us some prospects which in time may be improved with great profit to Religion. We

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[10] Dr. Charles Walmesley, O. S. B., V. A. of the Western District, was consecrated Bishop of Rama, *i. p. i.*, December 21, 1756. He died November 21, 1797, aet. 76; and was buried in St. Joseph's Chapel, Trenchard St., Bristol. In 1906 his body was exhumed, and removed to Downside Abbey. Dom Odo Langdale, O. S. B., of Downside, has given the writer an interesting note on Bishop Walmesley, as follows: "Leaving Ireland out of it, the rest of the English-speaking world has its faith and orders from Downside—a strong statement, you will say, but it is a fact. . . . The case of America is clear. Bishop Walmesley consecrated Bishop Carroll, who as first Bishop of Baltimore will have ordained many to all the grades of Holy Orders, and no doubt consecrated other Bishops. Archbishop Ullathorne, when Bishop of Birmingham, as senior Bishop in England, consecrated Archbishop Manning, from whom all but two of the Bishops of England today trace their descent (v. Genealogical chart in *Catholic Directory*, p. 56). The Island of Mauritius in the early part of the last century comprised Australia, Southern Africa, with all islands round, probably up to Sahara; and on the west included St. Helena. There is extant in the archives of the island of Mauritius the faculty granted to a chaplain in St. Helena by the Bishop of that see, to attend to the spiritual needs of Napoleon. The Bishop of Mauritius sent out Bishop Ullathorne to Australia as his Vicar-General, whither he sailed September 9, 1832, arriving in Sydney, February 23, 1833. At his instigation Bishop Morris of Mauritius petitioned Gregory XII to appoint a Bishop for Australia; and for the first time in its history Australia saw a Bishop, September 19, 1835, in the person of the V. R. Bede Polding, afterwards first Archbishop of Sydney, who was succeeded in 1879 by the V. Rev. Bede Vaughan, brother of our late Cardinal, and others of that name. Thus was established the Hierarchy in Australia. All the above-named Bishops were Downside men. The weak point in this colossal claim is that Bishop Walmesley was an Edmundian, not a Gregorian; *i. e.*, Douai, not Downside. But that is overcome by the fact that he was Vicar Apostolic or Bishop of the Western District in which Downside is situated."

shall be indebted for it, in some degree, to the calamities, which have fallen upon France; and this is certainly some check upon the great pleasure which, in every other respect, I should derive from these prospects.

Mrs. Plowden has informed me that your Lordship was well enough to perform the consecration of the two new Bishops at Lullworth on two successive Sundays in Advent. I rejoiced much to hear it. The chapel of that noble castle will be remembered in the future ecclesiastical history of the United States: it will be still more so in that of England, when the late events and contentions are recorded, and their issue described.

I sincerely pray that your Lordship may continue long to enjoy public esteem and veneration, which is wishing you a length of life; for these things are inseparably connected with respect to you. I have the honour to be with the greatest respect, my Lord

Yr. Lordship's most obedt. & hum St.

✠ J. Bishop of Balt.[11]

The two Bishops referred to are Dr. William Gibson, and Dr. John Douglass, both of whom were consecrated during the Advent of 1790 in the "New Chapel" of Lulworth Castle. This would seem to settle the question as to whether Bishop Carroll was consecrated in the New Chapel, or in the castle.

When Dr. Carroll came to Lulworth in July, 1790, he found it much as it is today, except that instead of suite upon suite of shuttered, empty rooms—empty save for stacks of sheeted furniture and pictures—the great house was a centre of hospitality, full of happy laughter and children's voices, of wealth wisely and liberally dispensed—an ideal English house. The XVIII. century engravings of Lulworth Castle, of which there are several, are inaccurate in several respects. For one thing they present it as being almost surrounded by hills, whereas the park is gently undulating, and except for the coast headlands, some two miles distant, there are no lofty hills near Lulworth. The castle itself is a great cube of eighty feet, with a round tower set in each corner, thirty feet in diameter,

[11] This letter is addressed on the back of the sheet:

Mr. Charles Walmesley
Chapel St Row
Bath.

Post Prepaid.

The second and third lines have been erased, and the letter re-addressed to Woolershill, near Pershore, Worcestershire. It is sealed, but the impression of the seal is half-effaced by a thumb-mark. The impression appears to be that of an Archbishop's hat above a shield, with (indecipherable) armorial bearings. Though not yet an Archbishop, Dr. Carroll was Patriarch of the United States. The hat has ten tassels.

and rising sixteen feet above the walls; the whole battlemented. The plan is simple, but effective. The house is three stories high, the towers four, and from the roof, to which access is easy, most delightful views can be obtained over land and sea. To an antiquarian one of the most interesting features of Lulworth would be the very beautiful lead-work found on the roof, and on the chimneys and piping, with the oft-repeated date "1756." A particularly fine, though small leaden cistern, a few feet above the ground, is emblazoned with innumerable finely and delicately wrought coats and armorial bearings, again with the date 1756. The back door is a marvelous specimen of very ancient carved black oak, brought from Bindon Abbey.

There is little to remark as to the interior of the castle, which is much like other English country houses of its size and state. The hall is small, and the principal rooms open from it. The library, which is a turret room diagonally opposite the private chapel, is perhaps the most attractive, with its book-lined walls and carved stone fireplace set beneath the deep embrasure of a window. The turret rooms are, in fact, the great charm of Lulworth Castle. There is no tradition as to the rooms occupied by Dr. Carroll on his historic visit, but had he been given his choice he would surely have preferred that above the library, on the second floor, where each of the three windows frames a view more beautiful than the last. Here can be seen in perfection the V-shaped gap between the great headland of Arish Mel and another mighty cliff, a beautiful triangle of blue sea framed in rugged rock. This is one of the most attractive views at Lulworth, and Dr. Carroll's eyes must often have rested upon it. Far preferable is this room to the "Royal" bedroom, an unimpressive apartment, of which the chief feature is an enormous four-post bed with bright blue hangings and gilt adornments in character. "The greatest honour that Lulworth can boast of," writes Coker, "is giveing entertainment to the King, as often as hee cometh the Western Progresse, who chose it to disport himselfe in the Park." In 1615, James I., and fifty years later his grandson Charles II., visited the Castle. In 1830 the monarch whom France had exiled found a refuge here, with the permission of the English Government, as the guest of Mr. Weld. The last King to visit Lulworth was Edward VII., early in his reign. George III. was

a frequent visitor here. It is evident he was attached to Mr. Weld, and he often conversed at length with Father Plowden, the chaplain. Hutchins only speaks of three such occasions, the first in 1789. On each, we learn that Mr. Weld entertained his visitors royally, "in a manner that reflected his loyalty and refined taste. The choicest productions of every kind that could possibly be obtained were laid before [the King and Royal Family] with a generous profusion, and in the most splendid style, the whole being served up on entirely new services of gold and silver, on every piece of which was engraved 'Long Live the King.'" [12] But, as we know, George III. was at Lulworth at least as early as 1785.

One interesting feature of the castle is the raised platform which runs round it, at the level of the ground floor. This is called the Cloisters, from the fact that it is paved with stone from the cloisters of Bindon Abbey. Just above this, and very near the great entrance, is a small window, belonging to what is popularly known as the Priest's Hiding Hole. There is, indeed, in the library floor, a trap door, from which a narrow flight of stone steps leads into a semi-subterranean apartment, but, as was pointed out by Dom Odo Langdale, no hiding-hole would be constructed so as to give a full view of its occupant from the front door; or with a perfectly obvious entrance! A description of the chapel in the park is unnecessary, as several excellent ones already exist, and its general appearance will be familiar to all from plans and pictures. Except for its unique associations, however, it must be confessed that the chapel is disappointing. The list of precious stones and marbles used in its decoration, to say nothing of pictures and other works of art, reads more like the description of some richly adorned church in Florence or Venice, than that of the unassuming interior of the Catholic Church of East Lulworth. Perhaps because the curious style of architecture cries aloud for ornament and decoration, for frescoes and mosaics, for blazing walls and painted domes, the church, as it appears today, certainly seems bare and unattractive. The story of the building of this chapel, referred to by Mgr. Ward becomes even more interesting when we know the family tradition as to the means of gaining permission to build it. George III. was very fond of Mr. Weld's little daughters, the eldest of whom at the date in question (1785) was

[12] Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, Vol. I, p. 375. London, 1861.

just twelve; and they were on affectionate terms with him.[13] It was thought by their parents that the King would find it difficult to refuse anything the children asked, and that the request for the new chapel would come best from them. They asked for it while they were walking with the King in the park, but the good-natured monarch, who could refuse them nothing, hesitated before consenting, saying to Mr. Weld: "Don't make it too like a chapel at first—make it look like a mausoleum." His command was carried out to the letter.

One very interesting personality was present here at Bishop Carroll's consecration. This was Thomas Weld, the eldest son of the house, born in 1773. When only seventeen years old he married, in June, 1790, Lucy, daughter of Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. One daughter was born to the young couple; and when his wife died in 1815, her husband began to study for the priesthood, to which he was ordained in 1821. Consecrated Bishop of Amyclae in 1826, he was elevated to the Cardinalate in 1830, the year after the death of his beloved daughter, who, like her father, had married into the Clifford family. Cardinal Weld died in 1837. He was the first Englishman who had a seat in the Conclave since the Pontificate of Clement IX. Mgr. Ward speaks of him as one of the "serving-boys" at Bishop Carroll's consecration, but, boy as he was, he had yet at the time been married two months. In 1828 he made over the Lulworth estates to his younger brother Joseph (b. 1777), who is the ancestor of the existing family of Weld. The health of the present owner not permitting him to live at Lulworth, his cousin and heir, Mr. Weld-Blundell, is in occasional occupation of the castle.

C. M. Antony.

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[13] Ward, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, Vol. I, p. 235. London, 1909. There were four daughters. The eldest Juliana (b. December 5, 1773) became a Franciscan (Third Order) Nun at Bruges, and died in the Abbey House at Winchester, October 27, 1800, six years after the expulsion of the Religious Orders from the Low Countries. Her community moved in 1808 to Taunton, where they still remain. The second, Mary Teresa (b. January 10, 1775), became a Visitation Nun. The third daughter, Catherine Winifred (b. December 18, 1778), married William, 17th Lord Stanton—a family with which Dr. Carroll had had intimate and affectionate relations in 1771. The youngest, Teresa, (b. October 18, 1782), married in 1803 William Vaughan of Courtfield, and is the grandmother of that family of priests of which the late Cardinal Vaughan was the eldest son. Dr. Carroll knew all these children well.

PIONEER EFFORTS IN CATHOLIC JOURNALISM IN THE UNITED STATES (1809-1840)

The purpose of this article is to give a general outline of Catholic Journalism during its formative period, an era full of struggles and of anxieties, when unreasonable attacks upon the liberties of Catholics were being made with the combined forces of the non-Catholic press and pulpit.[1]

The forerunners of the Catholic newspaper were the Irish journals. Although these papers were not distinctly Catholic in purpose, their sympathetic tone towards those of the ancient faith merits for them a place in any description of Catholic Journalism. In fact, more than a decade of American history had passed before any Catholic periodical, properly so-called, was established. Hence during this time the principal champions of Catholic doctrines and practices were these Irish papers. The history of the Irish nation has been inseparably bound up with the history of the Catholic Church in the Emerald Isle. This traditional fidelity to the belief of their fathers, more than aught else, has made Irishmen the object of persecution the world over. The early Irish colonists carried this strong living faith from their native land and planted it in American soil. As citizens of the United States, they frequently were forced to defend with vigor their civil and religious liberties against their enemies through the kingly power of the press. For years they had fought against British tyranny in Ireland. In this struggle for freedom they engaged some of the brightest and most intelligent of Erin's sons, many of whom afterwards came to America.

The soul of this movement was the Society of the United Irishmen, founded in 1791. The purpose of this celebrated Society was to unite Catholics and Protestants into one body devoted to the par-

[1] Cf. *A List of Catholic and Semi-Catholic Periodicals published in the United States from the earliest years down to the close of the year 1892*, article by the Rev. Dr. Middleton, O. S. A., in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. IV (1893), pp. 213-242, where a chronological and geographical list will be found. Cf. also *Catholic Periodicals published in the United States from 1809 to 1892*, by the same author, *Records*, etc., vol. XIX (1908), pp. 18-42, which gives the number of Catholic publications up to that time (1892) as 457.

liamentary reform of Ireland. Their contributions to the leading newspapers of their native land attracted universal attention.[2] The "Montanus" letters of Thomas Addis Emmett especially excited interest. William Sampson, another of New York's prominent citizens of that day, wrote over the pen name of "Fortesque," and Dr. MacNeven, their companion in exile, was a man of considerable culture.[3] While these Irish patriots were still in the midst of their struggle for liberty in the Emerald Isle, branches of the Society were being formed in America. Traces of their activities can be seen as early as 1794. Matthew Carey, William Duane and others assisted the efforts of the parent society by their fearless advocacy of its doctrines, and that in the face of a Federalist opposition which was beginning to manifest itself at the time. Reprints from the principal organs of the Society of the United Irishmen were published from the office of the *Aurora,* the mouthpiece of the Jeffersonian party.[4] The English government looked with apprehension on the strength and influence wielded by these sympathetic organizations in America, and Sir Robert Lister, then minister to the United States, set to work systematically to check, if possible, this concerted movement made by the members and friends of the Society.[5] Sir Robert's efforts were, unfortunately, only too successful. He was on terms of the closest intimacy with some of the highest officials in the American government, and persuaded them that the presence of these Irish enthusiasts was a menace to American institutions and liberty. The psychological moment arrived when rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1798. Under pretence of danger from the Society of the United Irishmen and their sympathizers in this country, President Adams took occasion to address a message to Congress, impressing upon the members the necessity of passing some suitable legislation relative to the admission of foreigners into the country and their residence here. By the passage of this Alien Law a dan-

[2] The chief organs of the United Irishmen were the *Northern Star* and the *Dublin Press.* Cf. MADDEN, *History of Irish Periodical Literature,* vol. II, pp. 225-235. London, 1867; ID., *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen,* vol. II, pp. 294-304. London, 1843.

[3] MADDEN, *o. c.,* vol. II, p. 235.

[4] *Journal of American Irish Historical Society,* vol. IV (1904), p. 69, article by EDWARD O'MEAGHER CONDON, *Irish Immigration to the United States Since 1790.* Reprint from the *Pilot,* Boston, Mass.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 89.

gerous autocracy was established. Foreigners remained in the country at the mercy of the President. If they incurred his displeasure or if they were regarded as "dangerous," they might be compelled to undergo a term of imprisonment, to suffer perpetual disqualification of the rights of citizenship, or be obliged in the end to quit the country. At best they were merely tolerated, and fourteen years had to elapse before they could receive the full rights of citizenship. As might naturally be expected, the opposition press, controlled principally by Irishmen, challenged the President's action and criticised the Alien Law with a just severity.[6] But Mr. Adams was not to be daunted. He succeeded in influencing Congress to pass a law which would make it a seditious libel to reflect on the conduct of the chief executive or to question the motives of Congress.[7]

When the English Minister heard of the passage of this law his joy was unbounded. In a letter written in 1799 to the Governor-General of Canada he related that some of the Federalists had "taken the law in their own hands and flogged one or two printers of the newspapers whose comments had offended them"; he told also how this conduct had given rise to much animosity, to threats, and to a commencing of armed associations among those opposed to the laws, particularly among the United Irishmen. . . . "Some apprehended," he added, "that the affair may lead to civil war."[8]

This unjust attack on the liberty of Irish immigrants was also carried on with even greater malevolence at the seat of government in England. In this persecution Rufus King, the American Minister at the Court of St. James, played a conspicuous part. The failure of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 led to the imprisonment of many of the leaders of the Society of the United Irishmen. In the latter

[6] EDWARD O'MEAGHER CONDON, *The Irish in America*, p. 259. Cf. also *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* cited above, p. 89.

[7] *Journal of the American Irish Hist. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 63, article by MICHAEL EDMUND HENNESSY, of the staff of the *Boston Daily Globe*,—*Men of Irish Blood Who Have Attained Distinction in American Journalism*. Matthew Lyon of Vermont was the first Irishman to suffer under the Sedition Law. By a strange irony of fate, it is said that Adams suffered defeat by the deciding vote of Lyon when up for re-election against Jefferson. John Daly Burke was another man on whom President Adams kept a sharp eye. He intended to hand Burke over to the British authorities. Aaron Burr, knowing of this intention, informed Burke and facilitated his escape. For fuller details see *Journal* cited above, vol. III, p. 62, et seq.

[8] *Journal of the American Irish Hist. Soc.*, vol. IV, pp. 89-90.

part of that year, however, Thomas Addis Emmett, acting as spokesman for his compatriots, obtained from the British Government a promise of full freedom for them, on condition that they would immediately quit English territory, never to return.[9] They applied to the American Minister for passports to the United States; but Mr. King, in accordance with the wishes and sympathies of President Adams, refused their request. Mr. Marsden, the Under-Secretary of State, informed the prisoners, then confined in Fort George, Scotland, that Mr. King had remonstrated with the British authorities and had bitterly opposed the emigration of these unsuccessful patriots to America. When asked by them why Mr. King hindered their departure to the United States, the Under-Secretary evasively replied: "Perhaps Mr. King does not desire to have republicans in America." This refusal on the part of Mr. King to assist the Irish State prisoners gave a pretext to the government of Great Britain to detain them four years more in confinement.[10] At last the day of their deliverance came, and about the year 1804, the released patriots landed in America. Shortly after their arrival, these exiles learned with feelings of pain the monstrous misrepresentations to which the majority of Irishmen were subjected in this country. The influence exercised against them by a hostile press was powerful, and added to this were the bitter prejudices of the Puritanical Federalists, who scorned these foreigners as "bog-trotters" and "wild Irishmen."[11] Dr. MacNeven, writing shortly after his arrival in New York City, does not exaggerate the condition of affairs existing in this country, when he states that "the same virulence and invective, the same violation of truth, the same distortion of fact, that marked the conduct of the English faction towards the United Irishmen in Europe, have been revived against them here by

[9] The text of this treaty and its history, written by Dr. MacNeven, may be found in *Pieces of Irish History, Illustrative of the Conditions of the Catholics in Ireland, of the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen and of their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government*, p. 169. New York, 1807.

[10] CONDON, *The Irish in America*, pp. 260-261. Cf. also letters of Rufus King to Henry Jackson, Esq., also letters of Thomas Addis Emmett to Rufus King, which may be found in *Pieces of Irish History*, etc., cited above, pp. 281 ss. These letters may also be found in the files of *The Shamrock* for 1816, starting about March.

[11] HON. JOHN C. LINEHAN, *The "Irish-Scots" and the "Scotch-Irish,"* p. 72.

the retainers and hirelings of the same enemy." [12] Self-protection, the bond which had united the Irish in Ireland in '98, now united these exiles and their sympathizers in America. The latter union was, however, a peaceful one, and consisted in the formation of such associations as the Juvenile Sons of Erin, Friends of Ireland, St. Patrick Benevolent Societies, and others. The principal and very often the only local news items of the early Irish Catholic periodicals were the addresses and proceedings of such organizations. The purpose of these associations was, in some measure, the promoting of the external interests of Irishmen, especially the neutralization of existing prejudices sown broadcast by an unfriendly press, not only in America but also in Europe. Hence it became necessary to encourage the formation of Irish periodicals in which the affairs of that nation might be truthfully stated. This need was met by Irish Catholic weeklies published principally in the two great centers of population, New York and Philadelphia.

With one or two exceptions the Irish journals down to the year 1840 had an ephemeral and rather precarious existence. The *Shamrock or Hibernian Chronicle* was first issued on December 15, 1810. It suspended publication four times before it was finally discontinued.[13] One of the most eventful years of this paper's career occurred when Rufus King was running for Governor of New York. Thomas Addis Emmett on that occasion came out openly in the press and attacked him with the overwhelming force of his rare and brilliant mind. In March, 1816, a systematic opposition against King, headed by Emmett, swept through New York.[14] As these exiles of Erin smote this Cæsar with their trenchant quills, well might they, like other Cinnas and Cascas, triumphantly raise the shout:

> "Liberty! Freedom! Tyranny is dead!
> Run hence, proclaim, cry it about the streets."

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[12] Cf. *Pieces of Irish History, etc.*, cited above. (*Introduction* by W. J. MacNeven.)

[13] The principal source for the facts regarding this paper are the files of the periodical itself which may be found almost complete up to the year 1816, in the Library of Congress. When this publication reappeared on June 18, 1814, it dropped the latter part of its title,—*Hibernian Chronicle.*

[14] Some of T. A. Emmett's letters to Rufus King of earlier date were used at this time. They are published in *Pieces of Irish History Illustrative of the Conditions of the Catholics of Ireland, etc.*, pp. 281 ss.

The power of Rufus King was broken. It is true that he continued in public life until 1826, but he was no longer "the first man in the country." His attitude towards the Irish, while at the Court of St. James, was exposed by speeches, letters, and editorials. Even his own correspondence was used against him with telling effect. He was defeated for the governorship of New York, and in 1816 gave up the cherished ambition of his life, the hope of becoming the chief ruler of the nation.

After the checkered career of the *Shamrock*, other papers began to appear in the great centres of population. *The Globe and Emerald* was started in 1824, in New York and Philadelphia. Then came *The Truth-Teller* with its long and interesting history (1825-55). In 1828, the *Irish Shield and Monthly Milesian* made a bid for patronage. Its editor entered upon a suicidal policy of persistent attack on a paper already well established and accomplishing much good in Catholic circles. In his journalistic endeavor to succeed, William Pepper unfortunately over-stepped the bounds of editorial honesty and attempted to injure his rival by defamation of character, but was penalized for his conduct. He became involved in a libel suit and left New York without a friend. He settled in Philadelphia, where he began the *Irish Shield and Literary Panorama*. This was followed in 1832 by the *Patriot and Shield*, and finally the same year there appeared the *Republican Shield and Literary Observer*. In 1831, another rival of the *Truth-Teller*, called the *Irish Advocate*, was started. In its race for favor the new paper claimed not to enter as an antagonist but as a fair and honorable competitor. Yet in the course of events it soon became apparent that its jealous editor betrayed at times in his conduct, the same picaroon instincts for detraction which had characterized the aspersions of the *enfant terrible*, the *Irish Shield*. Another ephemeral journal, whose history is shrouded in obscurity, was published in Charleston. In 1829, it was known as the *Irishman and Charleston Weekly Register*, but it soon changed its name to the *Irishman and Southern Democrat*. The last Irish paper of this era, the *Green Banner*, started October 3, 1835, was a creature of circumstance, and in 1837, on account of certain ecclesiastical difficulties, its editor, Father Levins, was obliged to discontinue this otherwise ably-conducted journal.

Certain other periodicals, national in their tendencies, were published during this period. Among these we must record the *Michigan*

Essay and Impartial Observer printed in 1809. This was the earliest effort in Catholic pioneer journalism. The little paper owed its origin to Father Gabriel Richard.[15] This illustrious American missionary journeyed to Baltimore in 1808, and on that occasion purchased a printing press and a font of type. These he brought overland to Detroit and set up at Spring Wells in the house of Jacques Laselle. Many persons have claimed for this press the honor of being the first one set up in the Northwest, but it is questionable whether it was the first in operation in Detroit itself; for there were proclamations issued to the people of this vicinity by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton as early as the year 1777. The documents were dated at Detroit, showing presumably that they were printed there. Strange to say, these were the only printed papers that were, over a long stretch of years, credited to Detroit as the place of issue. Some have concluded from this that the Lieutenant-Governor's proclamation was dated from Detroit but published elsewhere. Another press was owned by Alexander and William Macomb, who received it from England in 1785, but there is no evidence that it was ever put in operation.[16] The *Michigan Essay* was not, however, the first newspaper printed in the Northwest. Various papers were already printed in the Territory before 1800. Cincinnati and Chillicothe can boast of this means of enlightenment before 1809.[17]

In 1824 a Spanish periodical appeared in Philadelphia, under the strange appellation, *El Habanero*.[18] This magazine was not

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[15] *Contributions to American Educational History*, edited by HERBERT B. ADAMS. *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, Serial No. 11, by ANDREW C. MCLAUGHLIN, Government Publication, Bureau of Education, whole No. 174, *Circular of Information No. 4*, p. 11. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1891. Cf. article by REV. J. J. O'BRIEN in the *Historical Records and Studies of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York*, vol. v. (1907), pp. 77-94. Cf. also *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* (1855), pp. 43-57.

[16] *American Catholic News*, New York, Sept. 17, 1891, p. 5. Report of Don C. Henderson's Speech of the *Allegan Journal* before the West Michigan Press Association held at Kalamazoo. Cf. *Michigan Historical and Pioneer Collection*, vol. XIII, pp. 394, 489; the *Detroit Free Press*, May 30, 1888; *Historical Records and Studies of U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc. of N. Y.* (cited above), p. 86.

[17] *Circular of Information* No. 4. Bureau of Education Serial No. 11, pp. 11 ss. (full reference cited above). Cf. ISAIAH THOMAS, *The History of Printing in America*, Worcester, 1810; *Michigan Historical and Pioneer Collection*, vol. XIII, p. 394.

[18] The main facts regarding early Spanish periodicals in the United States

professedly Catholic, but since it contained articles on ecclesiastical subjects and was conducted by a Catholic priest, the Very Reverend Padre Don Felix Varela, the journal may with propriety be classed among the contributions to early Catholic periodical literature. Father Varela figured conspicuously for many years as a newspaper editor and controversialist. In 1829, he wrote also for a magazine called *El Mensagero Semanal,* conducted by Señor Saco in Philadelphia.

The first strictly religious journal established in this country in defense of Catholic doctrine was the *United States Catholic Miscellany.* It began on June 5, 1822. One may easily understand the need there was for this paper when one considers that the Catholics in the newly-founded diocese of Charleston were very few and were scattered over the territory which now embraces the three States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. At the period of the American Revolution hardly a single Catholic could be found in the whole extent of that country, and the people who inhabited this part of the South were wofully ignorant of Catholic doctrines and practices. Bishop England, the first editor of the *Miscellany,* was quick to recognize the needs of Catholicity in America. Among other things he saw the secular press so filled with absurdities and misconceptions concerning Catholicism that he felt himself obliged to take up the pen to answer some of these attacks against his religion. The prelate was certain that if he could disarm the honest prejudices of the landed aristocracy in the Carolinas, he would soon win his way into their esteem. Once the more intelligent classes of society were won over, he felt that little effort would be required to influence their less wealthy neighbors. In the exciting years that followed, Dr. England became one of the foremost leaders against a body of turbulent philistines who called themselves the "Evangelicals." In their attacks upon the civil and religious rights of Catholics, these ministers of the gospel, to use Pope's simile, were

> "Awed by no shame, by no respect controlled,
> In scandal busy, in reproaches bold,
> With witty malice studious to defame,
> Scorn all their joy, and laughter all their aim."

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may be obtained from RODRIGUEZ, *Vida del Presbitero Don Felix Varela,* pp. 226-254. New York, 1878.

About this time also the "Seventy-three Calvanistic Parsons of the *Protestant*," engaged almost every Catholic paper of that day in bitter controversy. The maliciousness of the *Protestant* and other sectarian journals in their calumnies against Catholics was equalled only by their overweening greed for gain. Among the papers located in different parts of the United States, which helped to defend the faith in these stormy times, one might mention the *Catholic Press* of Hartford (1829), the *Jesuit and Catholic Sentinel* and its successors in Boston (1829), the *New York Register and Catholic Diary* (1832), the *Shepherd of the Valley* of St. Louis (1832), the *Catholic Herald* of Philadelphia (1833), the *Catholic Journal* of Washington (1833) the *Catholic Advocate* of Bardstown (1836) with its immediate precursor the *Minerva,* and the *New York Catholic Register* (1839). Besides these there were four journals which were fortunate enough to survive the trials and vicissitudes of this exciting period, the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati (1831), *Der Wahrheitsfreund* of Cincinnati (1837), the *Pilot* of Boston (1837) and the *New York Freeman's Journal* (1840). Even the juvenile periodicals of that day contributed their share in the defense of truth. *The Exposulator or Young Catholic's Guide,* the first Catholic weekly for children, appeared in Boston, March 31, 1830, and was printed under the same auspices as the *Jesuit and Catholic Sentinel.* The *Children's Catholic Magazine* was printed in New York in 1838. Although it was scarcely the size of an ordinary prayer book it became a source of annoyance to the *Protestant Vindicator* (formerly the *Protestant*) and to the *Churchman.* In 1830 there appeared the first Catholic Magazine. It was a time when religious tenets were being vicariously assailed, when the public mind was losing its hold on Christian principles, and when the energies of non-Catholic editors, by pen and scissors, were constantly being directed towards revivifying numberless old calumnies against the Church. This periodical was appropriately called the *Metropolitan* and was considered as the authoritative organ of the Catholic Church in America, principally because it was established in Baltimore, which was regarded at that time as the "Rome of America."

In tracing this brief outline of the pioneer efforts in Catholic Journalism we must not fail to notice the deleterious influences exercised by journals relying in a great measure upon Catholic patronage, but whose editors made religion the medium through which much

harm was done to the Catholic cause in America. During the year 1822 when the Hogan Schism was at its height, the journals of Philadelphia vied with one another in catering to this unpleasant strife. The following papers were frequently employed as organs by the schismatic Hoganites: the *Democratic Press*, the *Aurora*, the *National Gazette*, the *American Sentinel and Mercantile Advertiser*, the *American Daily Advertiser* and the *Columbian Observer*.[19] Besides the virulent attacks on Catholics contained in the daily press, there were two weekly papers conducted by the Hoganites which defended the position of that party with all the ability of which they were capable. These journals were called the *Catholic Herald and Weekly Register* and the *Erin*. Of the former we know very little as there are but a few numbers extant. It was the chief organ of the schismatics and was conducted by E. F. Crozet. The witches' cauldron in *Macbeth* was not filled with worse ingredients than were found in the *Catholic Herald*. So blasphemous was the tone of this journal towards Catholic matters generally that it must have even shocked the slumbering consciences of the stubborn Hoganites. The first issue appeared on November 30, 1822. Three numbers of this paper are extant and these are perhaps the only ones that were ever published. The *Erin* has been described in Finotti as "an angel's name with the devil's tongue." Like every other Irish journal which appeared before or after it, this paper claimed to be a defender of the liberties of Irishmen. Against this formidable array of discordant and biased journals, the Catholics possessed one lone journal in Philadelphia which battled gallantly, while it lasted, for truth and justice. This was the *Catholic Advocate and the Irishmen's Journal*. It appeared for the first time on Saturday, Feb. 22, 1823, but after a few issues ceased publication.

The whole disposition of Catholic journalism during these decades seems to have been promote the harmony of society by removing from the pathway of non-Catholics the groundless prejudices and prepossessions which had grown up into social barriers, due chiefly to the circulation of misrepresentations and calumnies by the enemies of Catholicism in Europe and America and to the supineness of the Catholic body at large in the face of these fabrications. Until the year 1840 the general policy of Catholic journalism was a de-

[19] FINOTTI, in his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, refers briefly to the part played by the daily press in these domestic difficulties, pp. 160-162.

fense of Catholicism by vigorous appeals to reason and dogmatic principles. The period was above all one of spirited controversy. Catholic doctrines during this epoch were very imperfectly understood by those outside the Church. There was a predisposition on the part of all sectarian and secular journals to misrepresent her doctrine in every conceivable way. After the year 1840 there began among the non-Catholics of the land a formulation of better and clearer judgments which had been brought about by the successful conflicts carried on by Catholic journalists. The newspapers of this period give a contemporary view of the rise and spread of Catholicism in America.

In summing up the achievements of Catholic journalism during this period, we are forced to conclude that the history of Catholic pioneer journalism was to a great extent a fruitful struggle for the civil and religious liberty of the people as a whole. It was in battling for their full rights as citizens of the land that Catholic journalists impressed all the more deeply on the nation's consciousness the fundamental national principle of religious freedom. One cannot peruse a single periodical of this early period without finding that lofty theme as its leading purpose. It was as staunchly advocated by the national journals, which preceded the religious journals, as it was by the Catholic newspapers themselves. Notwithstanding the fact that the Fathers of the Constitution had clearly enunciated the principles which should govern the people of the United States in questions of religion, it is an historic fact that the ink of the document containing these basic articles was hardly dry before antipathy for Roman Catholics began to manifest iteslf. The theme which we find consistently advocated by all opponents of Catholicity during this first period of Catholic journalism, and which applies to all movements that have ever been waged against the Church in America, may be reduced to this proposition:—that it was the duty of all Americans to preserve the republic, its government, and its constitutional liberties against all enemies. Ignorance of the Catholic Church and her tenets, caused many to regard her as inimical to republican institutions, and every concerted and peaceful effort on the part of Catholics to safeguard their sacred rights and privileges was hailed as a conspiracy to subvert the government. The surest guarantee that could have been given to the people of the United States was the sincere desire of all Catholics to live at peace

with their neighbors of other creeds. This was the appeal made on all occasions by the Catholic press. If the Catholic press had carried on a propaganda against their fellow-citizens of other beliefs such as that directed by the non-Catholic press against the political, civil and religious liberties of Catholics, there would have been some pretext for the zeal with which they persecuted those who belonged to the older faith. But in no single instance did the Catholic press ever attempt to assail or abridge the constitutional liberties of those who were directing and swaying the popular prejudices against it. Catholic periodicals based their claims for justice on the United States Constitution and they maintained their ground on all occasions with a quiet but firm dignity. The standing motto of the *United States Catholic Miscellany,* the oldest and ablest defender of Catholic principles and doctrine from its very establishment was the exact wording of the first amendment to the Constitution:—*Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibit the free exercise thereof.* In spite of such solemn warnings regarding constitutional rights and privileges, efforts were made to circumscribe these liberties for Catholics. This system of antagonism neglected nothing which would add to the discomfort of Catholics. Pulpits resounded with harangues against their faith. Sunday schools inculcated uncompromising war against the Holy See. Publications, in some cases, it must be admitted, vile and obscene, found everywhere a ready market because they slandered the Roman Church. Catholic journalism, then in its infancy, tried bravely to avert the catastrophe which followed these persistent and gross fabrications, but failed. Then followed, as we all know, that wanton destruction of life and property which is almost without parallel in the religious history of this country. Charlestown Convent was burned, and several churches in Philadelphia met a similar fate.

Catholics needed able defenders against the terrible assaults of these religious fanatics. The spirit of the time produced therefore many militant journalists. Brownson, McGee, and McMaster were all men of strong convictions. They were also men of culture and learning who had examined all the doctrines of the Catholic Church before they joined that communion. We can understand therefore why they took issue with their adversaries. Conscious of the truth of the Catholic religion which they had so recently embraced they were anxious to repel with vigor the insults offered to it on all sides.

This defense developed what was known in that day as the personal element in Catholic journalism. No one perhaps possessed it more than McMaster. Among the clergy, Archbishop Hughes and Bishop England gave a renewed stimulus and a greater prominence to Catholic newspapers. The former compelled recognition and respect from Horace Greeley, Henry Jarvis Raymond and a score of other leading New York journalists. The latter prelate won many hearts by his graceful style, polished diction, and by the persuasiveness of his eloquence. Another star of the first magnitude in Catholic journalism of this time was John Boyle O'Reilly whose service for the Catholic press merited the appreciation he received from many distinguished contemporaries. He, perhaps, did more to clear away prejudices than any editor of his day, and he must be regarded as the premier Catholic journalist of the nineteenth century. With such representative men as editors and contributors, religious freedom had nothing to fear. When one weighs, therefore, the fruits of all these pioneer efforts, the conclusion is reached that had not a strong, vigorous, and sometimes militant Catholic press existed, the Church in America would not be occupying the splendid position which it holds in the twentieth century.

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EARLY CONVERSIONS TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICA (1521-1830)[1]

The history of conversions to the Church in America may be divided into three periods. The first period from 1521,—the date of Ponce de Leon's landing on the southwest point of the coast of Florida, when priests who accompanied the expedition established the first mission to the Indians in the United States, to 1607, the year of the Jamestown settlement. The second period from 1607,—when Jamestown formed the first beginning of white colonies in the new world, to the year 1830. This era embraced the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and the first fifty years of American independence. The third period from 1830,—a date just prior to the commencement of the great tide of Catholic immigration, to the present day. This period is chiefly noteworthy as embracing the Oxford Movement of 1833-45, with its influence on America. Conversions during the third and last decade became so numerous that only the earlier ones (before 1850-60) can very well, as a whole, be treated biographically. In the last sixty years converts have come into the Church in such great numbers that they can only be properly recorded under the general head of statistics.

So far as our present knowledge of the records informs us, there

[1] A complete bibliography for the use of those interested in this important subject would fill many pages. The general histories of the Church in America, such as the standard work of John Gilmary Shea, and the many diocesan histories which have been published during the nineteenth century, contain valuable references to the converts to the Catholic faith. Special biographical publications on the conversions prior to 1830—the period covered by this article, are not very numerous. In the pages of the *Records and Researches* of the *American Catholic Historical Society* of Philadelphia, in the *Catholic Chronologist*, edited by James A. Rooney, LL. D., (1945 83rd Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.), in the *Catholic World*, *St. Peter's Net*, the *Missionary*, *Truth*, and in the *Rosary*, articles have been written from time to time on these early conversions. The last named magazine featured a series of such articles on converts in the army and navy and in the different universities and non-Catholic institutions of learning. They were: *Convert Sons of Kenyon*, (vol. XXXII, Jan., 1908); *Convert Sons of West Point* (vol. XXXII, Feb., 1908); *Convert Sons of Nashotah Seminary* (vol. XXXII, April, 1908); *Converts from the Church of the Advent, Boston* (vol. XXXII, May, 1908); *Convert Sons of the Navy* (vol. XXXIII, July 1908); *Converts of Note* (vol. XXXIII, August, 1908); *Convert Sons of Harvard* (vol. XXXIII, October, 1908),——all written by SCANNELL O'NEILL, ESQ.

were no conversions among the white settlers before 1634, when the Catholic colony of Maryland was founded; but the Indian convert history runs all through the three divisions named above and is still being carried on at the present day in Alaska and the Northwest country. In this present article, the purpose of which is to call attention to the necessity of gathering up into one volume the history of these conversions, we shall confine ourselves to the first and second periods,—1521-1830. The most logical way of ascertaining the number of these conversions is to follow the geographical growth of the early colonies themselves. This geographical division covers every corner of the United States. European colonization in America up to the year 1607 was the work of Catholic countries and of men professing the Catholic faith. During this first period (1521-1607), the work of conversion was almost entirely among the native Indians. Beginning with "Florida," which at that time included Virginia, Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Georgia, with other parts of the South, the missions to the Indians, which were directed by the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits, attained a development that held the promise of a brilliant success. Then came in chronological order the establishment of the Church in Maryland (1634), where the first Jesuit missions were established by Father Andrew White and his companions. They founded a number of stations among the different tribes and were very successful in converting the Indians until 1645, when the Puritans and other European *emigrés*, who had been given a safe shelter in the Maryland colony, repaid the kindness they had received by plundering the churches, the missions, and the houses of the Catholics, and ended by sending Fathers White and Copley to England, as prisoners on trial for their lives. Father White's *Relatio itineris ad Marylandiam*, small as it is, gives a very fair account of these Maryland Indian missions together with the methods employed by the priests to convert the natives in this colony. He also wrote an Indian catechism, and a grammar of the Piscataway language, the first Indian grammar written by an Englishman. In New England, the Rev. Nicholas Aubry landed on the island of Ste. Croix (now known as De Monts Island) and celebrated Mass for the first time on New England soil (1604). Later, in 1613, a foundation was made at St. Sauveur, near Mt. Desert, by Father Pierre Biard and three companions. From here as a centre, missions to the Indians, in charge of the Jesuits, Sulpicians and Capuchins, spread

all over Maine, and penetrated into Canada on the north. In New York, as far as is known, the Recollect Father Joseph de la Roche de Daillon was the first to begin similar work (1626). He was followed in 1642 by Father Isaac Jogues. The subsequent history of the missions among the Iroquois, Hurons, and Mohawks of New York State, with their splendid though ephemeral prosperity, is the best known page of early conversions in America. Pennsylvania saw the beginning of the Catholic native-conversion movement in 1755, through Father Claude François Virot, S. J. The Ohio River and Lake Region, which at that time embraced Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota was part of the French Jurisdiction of Canada up to 1789. The first mission west of the Huron country was established in 1660 in upper Michigan by Father Réné Menard. Other missions, including that of Father Marquette (Illinois, 1674), followed in rapid succession. The Louisiana Mission (1763), embracing Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, with a part of Illinois, was first visited by Father Marquette. Other missions, founded by different religious orders, followed in 1682-1698-1702, and during succeeding periods. The Central Western States included the labors of Father Juan de Padilla, who accompanied Coronado's expedition in 1540. He founded a mission in southern Kansas. The Jesuit Father Allouez, in 1666, and the Recollect Father Louis Hennepin, in 1680, who labored among the Indians from the Wisconsin border to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, were followed by numerous other missionaries, ending with the noted Father De Smet in 1848. Texas was first evangelized by Father Andres de Olmos, a Franciscan (1544). The wonderful labors of the Franciscans in Texas cover the period up to 1812. In the territory now occupied by New Mexico and Arizona, the cross was first planted by Friar Marcus de Niza, a Franciscan (1539). He was followed by Father Juan de Padilla, Father Juan de la Cruz, and a lay brother, Luis de Escalona, all of whom were afterwards murdered by the Indians. These were the first Christian missionaries within the present area of the United States to be martyred for the Catholic faith. The California Missions began in 1769. This was the year when the first of the great Catholic Missions, which will always remain one of the most picturesque monuments of American history, were established by the Franciscans on the Pacific Coast. Previous to this date, Lower California had been

visited by the Jesuits, who established eighteen missions there between 1697 and 1769. In earlier times Lower California had been visited by Cortés in 1533, and Upper California by Cabrillo in 1542. Since Cortés was always friendly to the clergy, it is supposed that he was accompanied by priests on this expedition. In numbers and scope California ranks next to Florida in missionary endeavor and the harvesting of converts. How far the Mission Archives still extant in California and Mexico would enable us to give the exact number of conversions is a problem which has not yet been seriously studied by Catholic historians. To the north of California, in the Columbia region, the first knowledge of Christianity in the Northwest (including Montana, Oregon and Washington) came through Catholic Iroquois Indians and French Canadians about 1820. This field was to become the scene of Father Peter De Smet's great activity in 1841. After him came a long line of other missionaries, chiefly Jesuits and Oblates, who carried the faith to the remotest parts of the Northwest.

The reader has already noticed that this geographical summary of the development of missionary activity in the United States is like the growth of a mighty tree. Planted in Florida, and spreading northward, it branched to the east and west and then northeast and northwest, until the whole vast continent had seen the Black Robes, who numbered everywhere their harvest of souls by thousands. Some of these Indian converts became famous. Among them are Catharine Tegakouita, the saintly maiden of the Mohawk tribe; the Tayac Emperor of the Piscataways in Maryland, who was baptized by the Jesuit Father White; Mary Kittamaquund, his daughter, from whom several distinguished Maryland families are said to be descended; and Daniel Garakoutie, chief of the Iroquois (1669). It is recorded in the history of Maine that Baron de Castine, who helped build the church of St. Ann at Panawaniske (Oldtown) in 1688, a parish which exists to this day and is the oldest in New England, married the daughter of the Sagamore chief, Modockewando. There are many other records of prominent Indian converts in different parts of the United States. If I have dwelt on these primitive conversions, it is for two reasons. First it shows, what is so seldom thought of in these days, that—following the discovery by Columbus—the first religion established everywhere in America was Catholic and no other. Secondly, the vast harvest of white converts to the Church,

was built upon, and followed these conversions of the Indian, taking geographically almost the same trend. Wherever the Indian missions were left undisturbed, they prospered in a marvelous manner. It was when they were attacked by hostile Indian tribes, by white traders, or by European explorers bent on conquest, or later by the English colonists, that they declined and died out. Many writers have already paid glowing tributes to the conversions achieved among the Indians by the early missioners, great numbers of whom laid down their lives for the cause. With Puritan New England on one side and the violently anti-Catholic colony of Jamestown on the other, and with thousands of hostile savages in every direction, they yet conquered because the motive of their zeal, which knew no bounds in their devotion to the Indians, was a supernatural one. With hearts that were afire with a strong conquering love of souls, they blazed their way through the wilderness over thousands of miles, enduring heat and cold, fire and flood, until these primitive conversions which they effected embraced every tribe and covered the whole area of the western continent. With such a foundation, it is not surprising that the later history of the Church's expansion in America among the white settlers was so fruitful of results.

The complete history of the early conversions among the non-Catholic colonists is at present the work taken up by the writer for publication in book-form later on. Up to the present time only about one-half the sources for this study have been investigated. It is a difficult, though necessary task, and its ultimate success depends upon the facility with which these sources are made known. In most cases the desired data are scattered; they are hard to find, and often in a very fragmentary condition. The principal sources of information are:—church records and archives, which are always the most direct and reliable; the archives of Religious Houses, Colleges and Universities, such, for example as the archives at Georgetown University, at St. Rose's Priory, Springfield, Kentucky, in the old Missions in California, and in the Edwards' collection at the University of Notre Dame; old newspaper files; pamphlets, many of which were, and still are being written for private circulation by the descendants of early converts and which are not to be found in book stores, and can be obtained only as a favor; histories and biographies now in print and others which are out of print, as well as provincial

and community histories; old letters, some of which are still in private archives, and others in the possession of private individuals; and old encyclopedias. These are the silent, printed references; but beside these there are traditional sources, namely, the recollections of learned men, both lay and clerical, living in every part of the United States who have stored away in their memories, as the result of years of study and research a vast fund of information which, if they have the time to place it at the writer's disposal, will help to make this work complete. There are no books dealing professedly with seventeenth and eighteenth century conversions that are known to the writer.

The white conversions to the Church in the Colonies begin rightly with Maryland. Maryland was founded by the convert son of a convert father, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, eldest son and heir of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, who became a Catholic in England, probably in the year 1624. In November, 1633, Leonard Calvert, a younger brother of Cecilius, set sail for Maryland in charge of a party of colonists on board the *Ark* and the *Dove*. They numbered in all about three hundred souls, one-third of whom were Catholics. The place of their landing they named St. Mary's; and here on March 25, 1634, Mass was celebrated for the first time. The apostolic labors of the two priests, who accompanied the expedition, were so successful that in a short time almost all the Protestant colonists who were of the party became Catholics. This first Catholic colony in America was ideal. Its laws were wise, its spirit was noble, and its toleration formed a marked contrast to that of the Jamestown and Puritan settlements. Religious freedom was the rule. Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, gives to Cecilius Calvert the honor of being the first in the annals of mankind to make religious freedom the basis of the state.[2]

[2] Vol. I, ch. VII, edition of 1838. In the edition of 1883, Bancroft suppressed this word of praise. A comparison between these two passages will give the reader an idea of the eminent historian's method of "re-editing" his work, in which edition (1883) the praise given to Catholic institutions in the New World was either weakened or deleted altogether.

(*Text of 1838*)	(*Text of 1883*)
Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek	Sir George Calvert deserves to be ranked among the wisest and most benevolent lawgivers, for he connected his hopes of the aggran-

Under this beneficent and liberal rule the colony flourished and conversions increased.

The persecutions carried on against the Catholics by the Puritan element in Maryland after 1649, drove many colonists in different directions. The first large settlement of Catholics outside Maryland seems to have been made in 1785 near Bardstown, Kentucky. This state, the first great nursery of the Faith west of the Alleghenies, has a glorious Catholic history, and, as might be expected, conversions there were numerous. History records that in a series of missions given during the time of Bishop Flaget (1826), six thousand people went to Confession and Holy Communion, while over twelve hundred were confirmed and many converts were received. One of the earliest cradles of the faith in Kentucky, whence the apostolic labor of conversions was carried on, was St. Rose's Dominican Priory at Springfield, founded in 1806. Many of the conversions were effected by the saintly Father Nerinckx. From Kentucky the light of faith spread to St. Louis. The territory known as the Louisiana Purchase had a varied history. Between 1658 and 1826, the country east and west of the Mississippi had its jurisdiction changed five times; nor were the different divisions on each side of the river always under the same jurisdiction at the same time. Whether or not this retarded its development, the fact remains that in 1810 the present great Catholic diocese of St. Louis was a struggling village in the midst of a wilderness. When Bishop Dubourg took possession of the See in 1818, the pro-Cathedral was a poor wooden building in a more or less dilapidated condition. Under the great Bishop Rosati, of the Congregation of the Mission, St. Louis entered upon its

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for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the State.

dizement of his family with the establishment of popular institutions; and, being a "Papist, wanted not charity toward Protestants."

present wonderful development. We read of him that when he preached "his audience included men of every rank and station, and so convincing were his words, and so impressive his personality, that his converts in St. Louis for one year alone (1839) numbered two hundred and ninety-nine." Evangelization of the white colonists had been made at an earlier date by the Jesuits who labored in every part of the great territory then included in the diocese.

The second great section of development in the matter of conversions was that now occupied by New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The average non-Catholic will tell you that the history of New York began with Hendrick Hudson; but nearly a century earlier two Catholic navigators, Verrazano and Gomez, sailed some distance up the Hudson and placed New York under the patronage of St. Anthony. It is presumed, though not certain, that these explorers were accompanied by priests, and that Mass was said on the Island (Manhattan). The fact that Catholic colonizers seldom sailed from the Old World without one or more priests on their ships lends color to this supposition. Subsequent occupation by the Dutch resulted in the prohibition of public worship on the part of Catholics. When Father Jogues reached the island of Manhattan in 1644, he found only two Catholics, an Irishman and a Portuguese woman. It was not until 1684, under the Catholic Governor, Thomas Dongan, that religious liberty for the Catholics was established, making it posssible for conversions to occur more frequently. It was in the first Catholic church erected in New York, old St. Peter's on Barclay Street (1785), that the saintly Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton, founder and first superioress of the Sisters of Charity in the United States, was received into the Church on March 14, 1805. Other converts of that period were Henry James Anderson, born in 1799, who became a Catholic in 1849, and who held the chair of mathematics and astronomy in Columbia University (New York) from 1825 to 1850; and Mrs. Thomas Floyd, whose husband was known as "The Father of American Shorthand," and who, in 1789, reprinted in America his work, *The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church in Matters of Faith.* Mrs. Floyd, originally a Presbyterian, became a Catholic at Lancaster, Pa., in 1780.

It has been said of Pennsylvania that no other American colony had such a mixture of languages, nationalities and religions as the first settlements in Cambria and Westmoreland Counties, in the

western part of the State, and in Philadelphia. Yet the Catholic history of Pennsylvania stands out saliently in the records of the early church. The labors of the convert priest, Prince Gallitzin, were rich in results, and especially in converts. We read, among others, of a Mrs. John Burgoon living at McGuire's Settlement about 150 miles from Conewago, who was instructed and received into the Church by the prince-priest in 1796. In modern times nowhere can so much data about converts be found as in the archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. William Penn was blessed with the great gift of religious tolerance and under his benign influence Catholics enjoyed immunity from persecution. Many distinguished converts came into the Church, some of whose descendants live in Philadelphia and other parts of Pennsylvania to this day. The fifth Bishop (and first Archbishop of Philadelphia), the distinguished James Frederic Wood, was a convert; as was also the second Bishop of Erie, the Right Rev. Josue Moody Young. The Baltimore Cathedral Archives give also the names of Major Noble of Western Pennsylvania, and Major McHenry, both converts, who fought under Wayne.

In the New England States the same successful beginnings of conversions to the faith are to be seen. In 1668, Bishop Laval of Quebec visited Vermont, and after that the Jesuits visited the State and made many converts among the white settlers. In the Archives of the Cathedral, Baltimore, we read that "converts formed a considerable proportion of the congregation ruled by Bishops Matignon and Cheverus in Boston"; and again, from the same source, that "the little congregation that gathered around the Kavanaugh family at New Castle, Maine, in the time of Bishop Cheverus (1797), was made up mostly of converts." New England was, however, handicapped by its strong Puritanism. In 1722, Massachusetts ordered the Catholic Indians to deliver up every priest among them, and yet, despite this religious bias, the State has a wonderful convert history. One of the first converts in Connecticut, (where as late as 1843 there were but three resident priests in the whole State), was Bishop Tyler of Hartford. The Rev. John Thayer, missionary and convert, was born in Boston, 1755, and was received into the Church in 1783. His family were among the early Puritan settlers, and he himself had been a minister of the Congregational church and chaplain to Governor Hancock. His conversion took place in Rome and was

the result of a dispute into which he had been drawn regarding the authenticity of miracles worked through Blessed Benedict Joseph Labre, then lately deceased. Among the numerous nineteenth century conversions in New England are those of the Barber family in New Hampshire, in 1817.

Ohio and the Great Lakes region had many old and interesting missions, Kaskaskia and Cahokia in Illinois, the one near Rockford, the other, near St. Louis, which is said to have been the sole centre of civilization in the Mississippi Valley for some time. From archives in the possession of the writer, mention may be made of a Mr. William Morrison, who is said to be a prominent convert of Kaskaskia in the early part of the nineteenth century. Another early mission was Vincennes, which later became the See of the saintly Bishop Bruté who, like all the early bishops, numbered many converts among his flock. There was also the parish of Saint Anne, in what is now Detroit, the Mother Church of the Northwest, which then included all of Michigan and most of Wisconsin. Its parish records have been preserved in unbroken sequence to the present day, and contain many interesting records of early conversions. The church now standing is the sixth of the name. Its first pastor, Father de l'Halle, who took charge July 26, 1701, was martyred in 1706 by the Indians. The history of the church in Ohio begins at a later period than that of others in the Central West; but this state is noteworthy for its long line of distinguished converts who began to come into the Church during the Oxford Movement.

The twenty-one Missions established by the Franciscans in California, beginning with San Diego in 1769, and stretching northward to Sonoma, numbered their converts by thousands. The Church records and archives show that these converts were not all Indian. The daughters of Spanish settlers, when asked in marriage by non-Catholic *emigrés* or traders, invariably refused their consent unless their prospective *fiancés* would become Catholics. The archives of the different parishes contain the records of these conversions among the white population, though naturally the Indian converts predominated. Statistics of the California missions tell us that the Padres baptized 99,000 souls, of whom about 9,000 were not Indians. It would be interesting to know just how many of these nine thousand whites were converts. The first white settlement in the Columbia region of the Northwest seems to have been begun in 1811, and

the first priest sent to minister to them was Father Blanchet. It is a noteworthy fact that it was Catholic Iroquois Indians, evangelized by Father Jogues, who first carried the news of the Gospel to the heathen Indians farther west. It was these latter Indians who asked for missionaries, so that they, in their turn, were the cause of the reception into the Church of later white converts. The Pacific Coast has many distinguished converts. Two, of the early part of the nineteenth century, were Judge Peter Burnett, first Governor of California, and Dr. John McLaughlin, Governor of the Hudson Bay Company and founder of Oregon City.

It has not been my purpose in this brief summary to give any detailed account of the early converts in America but rather to point out the chronological and geographical growth of conversions in general, and the sources where their history may be found. Present-day Catholic scholars owe it to the future to preserve the names and the lives of all these early converts for the future history of the Church in this country. America is pre-eminently a convert country, and the rapid growth in the work of conversions, carried on during the last generation by the Paulist Fathers and the other Orders in the Church throws a value heretofore unappreciated around the missionary activity of this early period up to 1830.

GEORGINA PELL CURTIS.

CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN THE DIOCESE OF ROCHESTER

The Catholics of Rochester can boast of having one of their faith amongst the founders of the episcopal city in the person of Charles Carroll of Bellevue.[1] He came here from Hagerstown, Md., and in 1803 purchased, with Nathaniel Rochester and William Fitzhugh, the One Hundred Acre tract near the Upper Falls of the Genesee River. This was laid out in lots in 1811, and the settlement was actually begun in the following year.

At that time Catholic immigrants throughout northern, central, and western New York were in charge of the pastors of St. Mary's Church in Albany. Thus early settlers had to cover three hundred miles, generally on foot or at best on any available conveyance, in order to hear Mass, to go to confession and communion, to have a child baptized, or to receive the other sacraments. A pioneer Catholic, John McGuire, who often made this laborious journey over the wild and dangerous road through the woods, requested the priest stationed at Albany to come to Rochester once a year, or at least once in two or three years, to visit the dispersed sheep of Christ's flock there. The zealous priest would have been glad to come, but the great distance, the impossibility of leaving alone his own flock during the time required for such a visit, and the lack of means presented insurmountable difficulties.[2] At times a vacancy at Albany even compelled Catholics to push on to New York for spiritual ministration. The Klems of Rochester and the Kernans of Steuben County had to submit to such hardships of pioneer life in order to have a child baptized.[3]

Conditions such as these led "the Most. Rev. and Right Rev.

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[1] Tombstone in cemetery of Groveland, N. Y.: "Chas. Carroll of Bellevue was born at Carrollsburg in the State of Maryland (now the city of Washington) on the 7 of Nov. 1767 and died in the Township of Groveland the 28 of Oct. 1823 in the 56th year of his age."

[2] *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*, Heft XXIV, (1852), p. 20.

[3] Cf. Bishop McQuaid in C. A. SHRINER, *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Paterson*, pp. 77-78; also Bishop McQuaid, Sermon at Month's Mind of Abp. Corrigan, June 11, 1902; also HERMANN PFAFFLIN, *Early German Settlers* in PECK, *Hist. of Rochester*, p. 483. Rochester, 1884; BISHOP TIMON, *Missions in Western New York, and Church History of the Diocese of Buffalo*, p. 208. Buffalo, 1862.

Fathers, the Archbishop of Baltimore and the Bishops of the United States of North America, in their Provincial Council, celebrated in the month of October, 1829," to request the "Holy Father, that, because of the scarcity of priests, the distance of stations, and a custom already existing, he would grant, for all those dioceses, faculties to extend the time to fulfil the precept of Easter Communion, from the first Sunday in Lent to Trinity Sunday, both included." The Holy Father kindly granted the requested faculties on September 26, 1830.[4] No doubt these directions in the Pastoral of the Baltimore Council (October 27, 1833), to the laity, deprived of the consoling ministration of a priest, likewise reflect more ancient customs. The similarity of circumstances, in all probability, also occasioned such customs amongst the faithful Catholic people in the Rochester district. "Let them be earnest and regular in the great duty of prayer, especially on the Lord's Day, holydays, and days of devotion; on these occasions we advise them to assemble together, if there be two or more families, and uniting in spirit with the priest who offers the holy sacrifice in their vicinity, or with the bishop of the diocese, let them at the usual hour of worship, unless some other be much more convenient, recite their form of prayer for the Mass, read some approved book for instruction or some Catholic sermon; have their children catechised; preserve and increase a spirit of charity and affection for each other; mutually encourage each other to perseverance, and consult occasionally how they might be able to procure a visit from some priest for the necessary purposes of religion. Let them cautiously abstain from vice; for it has sometimes unfortunately happened that despairing of that ministry upon which they placed their reliance, they became reckless and criminal. We assure them that, though unfortunately thus placed beyond the reach of our ministerial aid, they are dear to our hearts, are not forgotten in our suffrages; we are solicitous for their welfare, and entreat, and desire those priests, who may, by any exertion, be able to afford them the benefit of their ministry, to regard as one of their first obligations, the duty of visiting and sustaining them when at all compatible with those other functions, to which they are specially devoted."[5]

Many years before this, Bishop Connolly, the first Bishop to

[4] *U. S. Cath. Almanac*, 1836, p. 47.
[5] *U. S. Cath. Almanac*, 1834, p. 118 ss.

arrive in New York, realised that the faithful dispersed throughout districts far removed from a church were exposed to the danger of losing their religion. He, therefore, instructed Father Michael O'Gorman, appointed to the Albany church in 1817, to give the Catholics outside of Albany an occasional Mass in their respective places of abode in return for their contributions to his support.[6] Thus Father O'Gorman visited the four or five Catholic families in Auburn, where he celebrated Mass, preached in the court-house, and baptized several children.[7] To provide for the needs of an increasing Catholic population, he had a board of trustees elected at Utica, where a new church was to be built. Three of its members, Charles Carroll of the Genesee River, John McGuire of Rochester, and John O'Connor of Auburn, were inhabitants of the territory now comprised in the Rochester Diocese. In 1819, the Reverend John Farnan was appointed to this parish. The newly established rector had arduous work to cover the circuit through the western district of New York. At Auburn, he urged the Catholics to build a chapel, which was begun but given up in discouragement.[8] In Rochester he found Catholics enough to proceed (1820) to the organization of a Catholic Society at a meeting in the Mansion House Hotel of that village, then numbering 1,502 inhabitants.[9] Here, in the year following, the Bishop created a new parish, which comprised in its limits all that constitutes the Diocese of Rochester and Buffalo today. The Reverend Patrick Kelly was sent to minister to Auburn, Rochester, and other districts in the western parts of the State.[10] He closed his energetic pastorate here with the erection of St. Patrick's church in 1823. Only two years later could another resident pastor be given to Rochester by the appointment of Father Michael McNamara. Since the completion of the acqueduct over the river for the Erie Canal, which was the first great source of Catholic employment and the avenue of Catholic emigration westward, caused a rapid

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[6] Bishop John Connolly's *Note Book*, May 30, 1817, in BAYLEY, *Hist. Cath. Church in New York*, p. 89.

[7] TIMON, *Missions in Western New York*, p. 211.

[8] *Ibid.* This is responsible for the inaccurate statement in the *Laity's Directory* of 1822 (*Cath. Almanac*): "In Auburn, an agreeable town, there is likewise a Catholic Church recently erected."

[9] Rochester Chronicle, based on ELISHA ELY, *Rochester Directory*, 1827, in MONROE, *Pioneer Hist. of Phelps and Gorham Purchase*, p. 623.

[10] *Cath. Almanac*, 1822.

increase in St. Patrick's parish, the new pastor found himself obliged to build a larger church. The congregation was too poor to bear the expense alone, and Father McNamara collected funds for this purpose in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and other places.[11]

While ministration to his vast parish was somewhat lightened by the advent of a resident priest in Buffalo, difficulties at Rochester weighed heavily upon the mind of Father McNamara. In fact, he was driven out of his parish by his trustees, because his sermons displeased them.[12] This exposed him to violent attacks in the secular press of the town, and the trouble apparently made him an easy prey to disease. Father McNamara died at Chili, N. Y., August 30, 1832, aged 39.[13] The Catholic faith was now suffering in Rochester from the evils of trusteeism, which had infected almost the whole American Church. As soon as Bishop Dubois appointed Father J. McGerry to St. Patrick's Church, the trustees refused to receive him as their pastor. Bishop McQuaid characterized their action best in his description of their letter to their Bishop: "In the archives of the diocese of Rochester we have a letter, addressed by the trustees of the only church then in western New York, a letter characterized by impertinence and insolence and shameful interference with the rights and duties of a bishop. They addressed their Bishop a letter covering four pages, with a species of humility running through it contradicted by their acts. The children of these men would be sorry today to have that letter published." [14] On the other hand there can be no doubt of the conciliating spirit of Bishop Dubois. For he wrote to the newly appointed pastor under date of August 14, 1832: "As for the salary, remember that I will not consent to more than five hundred dollars being allowed yearly, until the Church is completed, vestments provided, and debts paid. I also wish a house built for the accommodation of the priest adjoining the Church." [15] The trustees, however, remained obstinate in their refusal, so that the Bishop

[11] TIMON, *Missions, etc.*, p. 211.

[12] C. G. HERBERMANN, *John Dubois, D. D., Third Bishop of New York*, in *Hist. Records and Studies* (*U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc.*), vol. I, (1900), p. 338.

[13] SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Ch.*, vol. III, p. 501. Cf. authorities there cited.

[14] Bishop McQuaid, Sermon at Month's Mind of Abp. Corrigan, June 11, 1902.

[15] TIMON, *Missions, etc.*, p. 214.

was finally compelled to place St. Patrick's church under an interdict. The awful scourge of the cholera then devastating Rochester made them repent and they were glad to have the ministration of Father McGerry in their affliction.

Even during these troubles, Bishop Dubois was cheered by the fruits of the apostolic labors of Father Francis O'Donoghue, who was made pastor of Salina (now a part of Syracuse), and who extended his activities to Elmira, Ithaca, Geneva, Auburn, and even Greece. Here he dedicated, under the name of St. Ambrose, the church which the zealous Catholic farmers near Greece had erected on Mt. Reed.[16] At Auburn, he purchased a small Methodist meeting-house, and converted it into the first Catholic church of the place. However, hostility to Catholics had been fomented so strongly throughout the country at that time that the presence of a Catholic priest was not welcome. A young man was even surprised in the act of setting fire to the church while the poor and scanty congregation was assembled within to worship.[17]

Meanwhile better times had also dawned at Rochester with the advent, in December, 1832, of Father Bernard O'Reilly, later Vicar-General of Buffalo and then Bishop of Hartford, who labored here for about fifteen years with zeal and with great fruit in the performance of the duties of his pastoral charge. From the beginning, he was evidently bound to exclude any renewal of past disturbances by thorough instruction. "A Christian Doctrine Society" was organized for the purpose of aiding in the spread of religious knowledge. Statistics for 1836 show that this school, to which he gave much attention had 60 teachers, 300 pupils, and 250 volumes in the library. The same source also curiously tabulates the dimensions of St. Patrick's Church on its completion: external area in square feet 4675; area of audience room in square feet 3850; pew room in running feet 1221.[18] Even the enlarged church was soon overcrowded. The means to relieve this congestion were suggested by Father John Raffeiner, then of New York City. He had been authorized by Bishop Dubois, March 22, 1833, "to make, with his

[16] SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Ch.*, vol. III, p. 500.

[17] DE COURCY-SHEA, *Cath. Ch. in U. S.*, p. 484.

[18] Tabular Statements of the Churches and Sabbath-schools of Rochester, Prepared by the Rev. Tryon Edwards, &c., in O'REILLY, *Sketches of Rochester*, p. 290. Rochester, 1838.

compatriots in all parts of the diocese, whatever arrangements he judged opportune for the foundation of missions and for the building of churches wherever needed; but in the vicinity of Buffalo, he had to obtain the consent and approval of Reverend Mr. Mertz, the worthy pastor of Buffalo."[19] Father Raffeiner, therefore, urged the German Catholics in St. Patrick's parish to begin a separate church, and in 1836 they purchased a building on Ely Street, where they obtained the services of a Redemptorist priest who came with the consent of the Bishop and of his own religious superiors. July 24, 1836, is the date of the first record on the Baptism Register in St. Joseph's Church. This church's dimensions are also curiously tabulated: external area in square feet 1530; area of audience room in square feet 1359; pew room in running feet 361.[20]

Henry O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester,* published in 1838, preserves these interesting details of the first two Catholic churches of that city. He also mentions a parochial school attached to the German church, for which its pastor, Father Prost, obtained the services of a male teacher. There were about fifty scholars in this school, "wherein the English as well as the German is taught."[21] It is strange that this writer makes no mention of a school in St. Patrick's parish. However, it is said that Father O'Reilly secured the services of Michael Hughes and of his wife, Margaret L. Hughes, through Father Welch of Brooklyn, shortly after their arrival in this country. The good couple came to Rochester in May, 1835, and opened a school in the house of Dr. Bradley on North St. Paul Street, near Falls Field. As soon as the basement of St. Patrick's Church could be turned into a school-room, Mr. and Mrs. Hughes taught there. After seven years of faithful service, they were succeeded by a Mr. Kelly in 1842, who remained but one year. Patrick Quinn then became schoolmaster, and held the position till 1848.[22] These were the humble beginnings of the Rochester Parochial School System.

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[19] C. G. HERBERMANN, *John Dubois, D. D., Third Bishop of New York,* in *Hist. Recs. and Studies* (*U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc.*), 1900, I, 336. There was a later addition to this document. "I confirm and extend the authority given above to the Revd. John Raffeiner in all parts of this Diocese, John Hughes, Bp. N. Y. Given at New York this 3rd day of June 1843."

[20] Tabular Statements, etc., by Rev. Tryon Edwards, *o. c.*

[21] O'REILLY, *Sketches of Rochester,* pp. 284-288. Rochester, 1838; TIMON, *Missions in Western New York,* p. 216.

[22] PECK, *Hist. of Rochester and Monroe Co.,* p. 312. Rochester, 1884.

In these early days of its existence, St. Joseph's Church also enjoyed at times the ministration of Father Neumann, whose name quite frequently appears as the minister of the sacrament in its Book of Baptisms. In fact, the saintly priest was led to the resolution of joining the Redemptorists by Father Prost, who made the Congregation known to him and also the vocation for which God had been preparing him during laborious missionary journies, especially in the Niagara region.[23] There he worked beyond his strength till at last his health gave away. When a three months' fever left him very weak, there was question of transferring him to Rochester, but he refused. "It will be easy to get a priest for Rochester; but very difficult to find one for my district. Indeed, if I fail, it will be necessary to find two." [24]

The vacancy at St. Joseph's Church in Rochester was due to the baneful influences of trusteeism, which again threatened to ruin what had been so well begun. A few of these men were successful enough in their efforts to discourage Father Prost. He left the city of Rochester for Pittsburgh, where the first Redemptorist Convent canonically erected in this country was established in 1839. Father Czackert, who had come from Ohio in 1838 to assist him, was able to continue the ministry in Rochester for but a few more months, when he felt himself constrained to allow the trustees to rule in an empty church. The Germans were thus deprived for a whole year of the ministration of a German priest. Pious members of the congregation sent frequent invitations to Father Simon Sanderl, then engaged in the Indian Mission of Arbre Croche of Michigan. With the consent of his superiors, who were giving up the work amongst the Indians, he at length became pastor of St. Joseph's Church. When he also came into conflict with the trustees, who failed to give a satisfactory account of the Church income and expense, he publicly declared from the pulpit that he would no longer acknowledge the trustees. The congregation needed better management of its funds, since the erection of a new church was imperative. The number of German Catholic families had greatly increased in the last years, for whom there was not enough room in the old church, which was besides in a dilapidated condition. Father Sanderl, who had obtained the requisite per-

[23] MAGNIER, *Life of Bishop John Neumann, C. SS. R.*, p. 49. New York, 1897.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

mission to build from Bishop Hughes, promised to put up a fine large church, if the members of his congregation would hand over to him the church treasury and continue to assist him with their contributions. As soon as some opposition manifested itself, he closed up the old church, determined to accept another parish rather than to submit to the evil domination of the trustees. The faithful people of the congregation then met to support Father Sanderl in the position he had taken. The trustees were induced to resign, and handed over to him $630 in cash, the treasury of the church, and a balance of pew rents amounting to $500. With this money, he bought a lot, and began the erection of the new St. Joseph's Church, the title of which was vested in the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.[25]

A vivid picture of the state of Catholicism in this district of his extensive diocese is given by Bishop Hughes in the brief sketch of the result of his observations during the recent episcopal visitation, which he communicated to the *Freeman's Journal,* under date of October 23, 1841.[26]

"From Salina the next station was Auburn, where I had not time to make such delay as I could have wished. The congregation here is very small and does not appear to increase. It is visited but once a month by the pastor, who has to attend to two other congregations, those of Seneca Falls and Geneva. In this mission the only increase at present apparent is in the congregation of Seneca Falls. This is to be accounted for principally by the encouragement there afforded for manual employment, and the inducements which extensive improvements going on in that neighborhood hold out to mechanics and laborers.

"The church at Geneva has, however, had but little prosperity. It has now been erected ten years, yet the number of Catholics connected with it now are not greater than they were at the time of its erection. The state of the pecuniary affairs of this church may be quoted as an instance of that mismanagement which is but too general, unfortunately for the interests of our religion and people. This church was originally constructed at a cost of about $2,000, of which $1,200 were raised by subscription and paid at the time. Since then we are not aware of any improvements requiring further expenditure having been made, yet, strange as it may appear, the church now

[25] TIMON, *o. c.*, p. 219.

[26] Kehoe, ed., Hughes's *Works*, vol. I, pp. 441-443.

stands indebted to the amount of nearly $3,000—a sum more than double its actual value! The management of the affairs of this church has been in the hands of persons appointed in the ordinary way as trustees, whose intentions have doubtless been good, but who have, nevertheless, been so unhappy in accomplishing their designs as to present the unfortunate results just stated. There can be no doubt that some measures are absolutely essential to correct the evils of the present system of managing church property. The idea has been extensively cherished that the clergy of the Catholic Church should not interfere in the management of its temporal concerns. For my part, I believe the idea has been the cause of much detriment to religion, both as regards its spiritual progress and the temporal means that are dedicated to its support; for the consequence has been that the clergy have naturally declined all interference. They have not chosen to incur fatigue, labor, and annoyance, which would earn for them, not the gratitude of those apparently most interested, but which would bring down their censure. And yet it has been found that these same clergymen, who are not deemed competent to have even a voice in the distribution or economy of the church funds, have always been looked to as the persons whose duty it was to provide these funds. But on themselves, the effect has been that they have become less interested in proportion as they were deprived of their rights of interference and power of doing good.

"The trustees of this church were enabled to show to their own satisfaction how the strange accumulation of debt has been effected, but I confess that I could not comprehend the explanation. But neither do I entertain for one moment any other opinion than that persons had undertaken a task for which they have been by no means qualified, and without intending to mismanage the affairs of the church, that those affairs have been most unaccountably mismanaged. The very lot, or rather one of the two lots on which the church stands, and which had been paid for years ago, was allowed to remain so implicated in the general property of the individual of whom the original purchase was made, that it became subject to sale by a mortgage held by him. This lot was actually permitted to be sold, and now the additional sum of $250 will be required for its release. This is, perhaps, a strong case in illustration of the evils of a system which requires correction. . . . It is most important for the Catholics that a more concise and responsible mode of managing the tem-

poral affairs of their churches than that which has hitherto prevailed should be introduced.

"The short period of time that I was permitted to spend at Geneva was necessarily occupied in examining into this melancholy state of the temporal affairs of that church, and as my engagements required my presence at Rochester on the following Sunday, it was not in my power to meet the assembled congregation of Geneva.

"There is, perhaps, no city or town in the Diocese in which there is a prospect of a more permanent increase in the members of the Catholic Communion than in Rochester. There are at present two churches, both large and commodious. For those who speak the English language the erection of an additional church has been deemed of pressing necessity, and measures have been taken for that purpose; whilst the number of German Catholics in and about Rochester, equally require that new provision should be made for their accommodation. Accordingly, two respectable members of the Ligorian Society, who have at present charge of the congregation, have purchased ground, and are making arrangements for the erection of a new church suited to the wants of the people. It may be remarked that Rochester was one of the first cities to introduce the principle of the temperance association. Long before it had been spoken of in any Catholic congregation in this country, and even before it had been taken up by Father Matthew in Ireland, it had been introduced in the congregation of the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly of Rochester with the happiest effects which are still visible.[27] Besides these congregations already established, the large and increasing numbers of Canadian and French Catholics in Rochester and its neighborhood encourage them to solicit the presence of a clergyman who could speak to them in their own language. It is not in my power at present to send them one; nevertheless, their good dispositions and zealous efforts shall not be forgotten, and as soon as the opportunity offers of engaging for them a clergyman of their own nation, it shall certainly be taken advantage of for that purpose.

"Seven miles from Rochester is the township of Greece, settled to a very considerable extent by Catholics. They have not had at all times the undivided attention of any clergyman, although one of the

[27] O'Reilly, *o. c.*, p. 315, speaks of the Hibernian Temperance Society in St. Patrick's Church. "This society is exercising a cheering influence, and may be made productive of still more flattering results."

first measures adopted by them after the settlement in the place was to secure the erection of a neat and appropriate church, in which now they have regular service every Sunday. The members of this congregation are for the most part agriculturists, some of them owning highly improved plantations, and all the others possessing some portion at least of the soil on which they reside. During my visit, and at their pressing solicitation to have a clergyman permanently residing amongst them, I appointed as their pastor the Rev. Denis Kelly.

"It will be seen by these hasty remarks that my time did not allow me to visit the many interesting and important congregations which are in the neighborhood of all these principal stations, both between Geneva and Rochester, and the latter place and Lockport. Not only on the main route, but also back from it, there are many scattered members of our Communion, cut off unhappily by their isolated position from enjoying the consolations of the public exercise of religion."

At Rochester, English speaking Catholics had, in fact, some eight years before, purchased a church from the Protestants on South St. Paul Street, but failure to collect the purchase money made them lose the title to the property. Consequently many hesitated to buy back the old church of St. Mary's until the warm encouragement of Bishop Hughes fired their zeal again to renewed efforts. So a second church for the Irish Catholics was established permanently in the fall of 1841.[28]

The peace that had been established at St. Joseph's through the defeat of the trustees did not allay all dissatisfaction on the part of the malcontents. German Catholics, resident in the western part of Rochester, did not find the site central enough. Their main grievance, however, was the vesting of the title to the property in the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.[29] So twelve men came together one night in the spring of 1842, and determined to build another church to be governed according to their own principles. Bishop Hughes was approached in New York by one of their number for permission to build. Although the Bishop was surprised at a request made so soon after the new St. Joseph's Church had provided for a larger congregation, he thought it advisable, in case there was really a need for a second German church, to give his permission

[28] TIMON, *o. c.*, pp. 215, 216, 218.
[29] TIMON, *o. c.*, p. 219.

in writing subject to the approval of the Redemptorists. These Fathers knew too well the rebellious character of the organizers of the new church, for which a lot had been purchased at the corner of King and Maple Streets. Under these circumstances, both the Redemptorists at St. Joseph's and Father Bernard O'Reilly at St. Patrick's refused to officiate at the laying of the cornerstone. Consequently the men were compelled to perform the ceremony themselves. They seized the opportunity to place a documentary protest into the cavity of the cornerstone itself. "Whereas we have been much deceived by the Redemptorist Fathers, we are going to build, in spite of them, a Catholic Church, not to be sold, alienated, or transferred, or given away to any person whomsoever, as long as the church members, one to three, oppose it."

Bishop Hughes was not the man to trifle with the dangerous situation thus created in Rochester. The petition for a priest of their own called forth a sharp reply that there was no priest available to give them, and if there had been one, he would not send him to those who erected a church in the spirit of strife and discord. He understood, however, that the matter demanded his own personal attention, and so he promised to be in Rochester within a few weeks. He arrived there, gave a hearing to the malcontents, and thoroughly instructed the misguided congregation in regard to their duties. The better element now prevailed and voted all that the Bishop desired.[30] There is no lack of friendly cordiality in the letter sent to Bishop Hughes by Sebastian Zeug, Nov. 14, 1842.[31]

"Right Revd. Sir,

"In accordance with your directions when here, I furnish you with a statement of the new German church, now almost complete. The church is now, with the exception of the basement, completed, and the cost of the ground on which it stands (114 by 129), with the building complete as stated above, is three thousand and one hundred dollars.

"Of this sum, we have now paid by subscriptions collected about one thousand dollars—we have other subscriptions for eight hundred dollars which will certainly be collected.

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[31] *New York Archdiocesan Archives*, Dunwoodie Seminary. Letters to the Laity to 1850. This letter disagrees completely with Bishop Timon's chronology in his *Missions in Western New York*, etc.

"We have paid with the thousand dollars . . . & Co., nine hundred more, which I raised out of the City Bank on a mortgage on my property, one-half of it to be paid on the 1st of Jan., 1843, and the other half in June, 1844.

"I would wish, Right Rev. Sir, that you would advise me as to the mode I could be secured for the nine hundred dollars now on my property. At first, I was to get, when the Church would be complete, something that would secure me against loss. I only mention the matter to put you fully in possession of the state of things with us, and that you could be so good as to adopt some measure by which I might be secured. I have no fears whatsoever of our being able to meet all our engagements through our own clergyman's exertions when we get one. Our people are united and delighted with the present prospects of our church.

"You will be so good as to answer this at your earliest convenience, and direct me as to the manner of conveying the property to you by deed, as I am anxious and so are the people to have the matter done. Our church will be ready in one month for divine service."

Bishop Hughes evidently availed himself of the services of Father Bernard O'Reilly, the pastor of St. Patrick's Church, to get the church property of St. Peter's properly deeded to himself. For his letter of February 6, 1843, could not have been addressed to anyone else, although the copy of the letter kept in the New York Archdiocesan Archives does not give the name of the person addressed.[32]

"Rev. dear Sir:

"I received your letter of the 1st inst., and am very much pleased that you have taken the pains to have the deed of St. Peter's German Church made all right. It is not in my power, however, to send at this moment a clergyman, for the plain reason that I have none at my disposal. But I shall write Mr. Beyer [then pastor of St. Joseph's] to open the church & to officiate in it as often as possible until another clergyman can be procured. The German church at Utica is in like manner at this time without a pastor. Please to say to those people that, as soon as it will be in my power, I shall certainly cause divine service to be regularly performed in their church.

[32] *New York Archdiocesan Archives*, Dunwoodie Seminary. Copies of Letters from Arch. Hughes.

I am glad also that you have visited Canadaigua &, since Mr. Bradley neglects it, I will be obliged to you to take it under your charge & foster the feeble plant of religion in that place as much as you can.

"Having said this much, I must now scold you for two things. One is for not writing a plainer hand, and the other for not writing your ideas with more openness and candour. The manner in which you refer to matters connected with the mission in Rochester would lead me to infer that you want confidence either in your own statement or in me. Why do you not say openly and plainly what you wish to say on that subject? . . . I would have been much more pleased, if you had said, in that spirit of frankness which I would expect you always to show, what it is you mean by reference . . . to the necessity of closing your school and the danger to some of the churches. Please to write to me fully without ambiguity on this subject."

In fact, the dangers of trusteeism were not yet all passed. This was soon discovered by Father Francis John Levitz, formerly a Franciscan missionary in Syria, who was appointed pastor of the new German church, which he reached April 23, 1843. The rulers of the congregation made his pastorate so bitter for him, that he secretly left Rochester one night to reveal the trouble in person to his Bishop. The Vicar-General, Father John Raffeiner, was then dispatched to make an investigation in the congregation itself. He soon learned that the majority of the people were in favor of the Franciscan Father, to whom only a few leading members were opposed. Accordingly, the Bishop sent Father Levitz back again. Nevertheless the opposition created enough trouble to make him glad to relinquish his charge after three years of service. For about three months the congregation had no priest of their own, and was, therefore, dependent upon the charitable ministry of the Redemptorist Fathers. This made the advent of a new pastor, Count Antony Berenyi of Hungary, in 1846, all the more welcome. Now at last peace seemed firmly established. The membership of the church increased from 842 to 1676; many debts were paid; fine vestments were purchased; and $500 was expended for a new organ. The congregation was so pleased with the progress made that they determined to give their pastor a testimonial of their love and gratitude.

They bought him a riding horse, but Father Berenyi, who lived like a hermit, refused the gift. Even then a plot was forming to overthrow the peace and harmony of the congregation. A number of grocery men and saloon keepers persuaded Father Berenyi to announce the election of seven men to examine into the account books of the Church Committee, which they claimed had acted dishonestly. The pastor did not suspect any evil intentions, and had already twice announced the election, when one of the conspirators, in a state of drunkenness, revealed that the real intention was to procure a charter for the incorporation of trustees. Father Berenyi then strictly forbade the announced election. So the evil was postponed for a time.[33]

Meanwhile, Bishop Hughes had realized the difficulty of coping with problems arising in regions so remote from his own episcopal city, especially as they seemed to increase instead of decrease in the course of years. He, therefore, applied to the Holy Father to divide the Diocese and to appoint his Coadjutor to the new See to be established at Albany, the Capital of the State. He sent a map of the State to Dr. Cullen, January 24, 1845, "to give a more accurate idea of its extent and increasing importance. The portion assigned to the contemplated See of Albany will still be too large; and you will observe, marked with circles of red ink, two other future Bishoprics, one in the western portion, the other in the northern portion, Rochester and Plattsburg. But of these, as new Bishops will have to be recommended, it is unnecessary to speak at present. The subjects will be brought before the Bishops of the next Provincial Council, which will probably be the last till the division of the Province.

"One Bishop residing at the extremity of the Diocese is not sufficient for the right government of all, especially with the great increase of missionaries. Just imagine, seven or eight of my priests, if they wish to visit me on business, must travel 500 miles. Indeed, this ought to be divided into four dioceses: New York, Albany, Plattsburg, and Rochester—and I have marked on the Map what may be their limits, taking in for Plattsburg a remote portion of the Diocese of Boston. But at present, the erection of Albany into an Episcopal See and the appointment of Dr. McCloskey will be sufficient." [34]

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[33] TIMON, *o. c.*, pp. 232, 234 ss.

[34] *Records Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, vol. VIII, p. 485-6—*Papers relating to the Church of America. From the Portfolios of the Irish College at Rome*, (p. 154).

In 1847, Bishop Hughes was successful in his efforts to get a division of his vast diocese. Two new Sees were established, one at Albany, the other, however, at Buffalo, and not at Rochester. It took another twenty years before the American prelates petitioned for the erection of the Diocese of Rochester. Bishop McQuaid, its first Bishop, paid his first visit to his future episcopal city as an observant ecclesiastical student, in the summer of 1846. He grew up amidst the people who settled in this country between 1830 and 1850, and whom he was thus well qualified to describe in his sermon at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Although misguided at times by a number of cunning rascals—according to Archbishop Hughes in 1852, not more than eighteen in all in Rochester and Buffalo together [35]—we must not allow the vices of these men to close our eyes to the virtues of the people at large, to which Bishop McQuaid does generous justice.

"The first immigrants coming in large numbers were from Ireland. Of all the peoples of Europe, they were best fitted to open the way for religion in a new country. Brave by nature, inured to poverty and hardship, just released from a struggle unto death for the faith, accustomed to the practice of religion in its simplest forms, cherishing dearly their priests whom they had learned to support directly, actively engaged in building humble chapels on the sites of ruined churches and in replacing altars, they were not appalled by the wretchedness of religious equipments and surroundings in their new homes on this side of the Atlantic. The priest was always the priest, no matter where they found him, or from what country he had come; the Mass was always the Mass, no matter where it was offered up. They had lived among the bitterest foes and had never quailed or flinched; misrepresentations and calumnies, sneers and scorn made no impression on their faithful hearts. Men who prefer death to denial of Christ are not cowards or traitors. In such a school of discipline, they had been trained to do missionary work. They and their descendants have not, in a new hemisphere, unlearned the lessons taught at home.

"Quickly following the Irish came the Germans from all parts of the fatherland. They, too, were a sturdy race, able to hold their own. Many of them had also known persecution for religion's sake;

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[35] Arch. Hughes, Circular to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of New York, March 16, 1852. KEHOE, *Works*, vol. II, pp. 719-20.

most of them remembered the stories of bloody times which had come to them among the traditions of their hearths. They were prompt to rival their Irish brethren in building up the Church. At home they had their old parish churches, with the chants and ceremonial which lend to religion much that is consoling and instructive. The religious traditions and glories of the old land they sought to emulate in this. Better than all, they have stood fast by the duty of maintaining Christian schools for Christian children. There is much they can copy from the Irish, and much that the Irish can learn from the Germans. All the other nationalities of Europe can kneel at their feet and imbibe salutary and profitable lessons." [36]

FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN,
Docteur en sciences morales et historiques (Louvain).

[36] Bishop McQuaid, *Sermon on Catholic Church in the United States*, in the *Memorial Volume Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*, p. 168.

MISCELLANY

THE OFFICIAL CATHOLIC DIRECTORY

(Contributed by JOSEPH H. MEIER, ESQ., Editor of the *Directory*.)

The history of the *United States Catholic Directories, Almanacs, Year Books* or *Laity's Directories*, is, indeed, an interesting one. The growth of the Catholic Church in America could not be illustrated to better advantage than by a study of the *Directory* volumes published during the past one hundred years.

The purpose of this sketch, however, is not to show the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States, but to trace the *Directory* from its earliest days. The first *Catholic Directory* or *Catholic Laity's Directory*, as it was called, was published by Matthew Field in 1817, at New York. An *Ordo* was published in Baltimore, by John Hayes, in 1801; but the consensus of opinion is that it was merely an *Ordo* and did not contain any of the Directory features. In some of the later *Ordos* a list of the names of some of the Reverend Clergy was appended, but Finotti in his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (p. 219), calls the 1801 publication an *Ordo*. Passing over the *Ordos* published previous to 1817, we come to Field's *Laity's Directory to the Church Service*. In his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (which contains a list of works written by Catholic authors and published in the United States from 1784 to 1820), Finotti gives the following account of Field's *Directory* (pp. 19-20):

> "ALMANAC, THE CATHOLIC—*The Catholic Laity's Directory to the Church Service:* with an Alamanac for the Year 1817. Price 25 cents. Contents: Abstract of the Directory; Explanation; Calendar; Explanatory Preface; St. Francis de Sales's Exhortation to attend vespers; Suitable behavior in Church; Gother on Cleanliness; Extraordinary High Mass; New Year's Gift; Litany for a Happy Death; Obituary; Miraculous Events in Italy; Anecdotes of St. Simon Stock; Dr. Milner's account of an extraordinary Miracle; Reflections on Miracles; Churches, Colleges, Seminaries, Convents, and Benevolent Institutions; O'Leary's Apology for Catholic Servants refusing to go to Protestant Church; Particulars of a Prophetic Sermon lately published in England; The Thirty Days' Prayer; Ward's Errata—his Life, etc.; Spouse of Christ; Catalogue; Litany for the Dead; Catholic Magazine. New York: Published and sold by M. Field, 177 Bowery. Pp. 68. 32 mo. Two blank pages; next page, *Address to the Catholic Public*, soliciting communication. The paging begins with a title-page, as follows: *By permission of the Right Rev. Bishop Connolly:* To be published annually, *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service*, for the Year of Our Lord 1817. Being the first after Leap Year, and forty-first of the Independence of the United States of America. To which are added an Obituary, Biography, and an account of the Catholic Churches, Colleges, Seminaries, Benevolent Institutions, etc., etc.,

in the United States and Canada. Also, A New Year's Gift, and a variety of edifying and interesting information. With an *Almanac*, exclusive of all useless matter. New York: Published and sold by M. Field, at his Library, 177 Bowery, within a few doors of Delancey Street . . . 1817."

Father Finotti also adds on p. 20:

"Daniel Fanshaw, 241 Pearl Street, was the printer of this work. The four pages unnumbered were perhaps intended as a circular or manifesto; pp. 64-68 contain the catalogue of a library well stocked for the times, with Catholic books for sale. The *Directory* was not continued. The copy before me, faulty as it is, manifests a great deal of enterprise in Mr. Field, etc., etc."

It seems that the publisher, Mr. Field, was unable to secure information concerning the Clergy, churches and institutions and only a dozen lines of the sixty-eight pages in the 1817 book constitute Directory matter as it is understood today.

The next *Directory* appeared in 1822, and was published by William H. Creagh in New York. The name on the title page is: *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service.* The publisher tells his readers that the volume was revised and corrected by Rev. John Power of St. Peter's Church. Under the caption *Notice,* four pages removed from the title page, appears the following: "The Laity's Directory is published this year for the first time in the United States of America." Why the publisher of the 1822 *Directory* entirely ignored the 1817 venture is open to conjecture. The 1822 volume consists of 138 pages, the type size being 4⅝ by 2⅝ inches. It contains a Feast and Fast Day Calendar, which also shows what vestments were to be worn each day during the year; it includes thirty-six pages entitled *Practical Instructions for the Sundays, Feasts and different times of the Year.* The nine following pages contain "A brief account of the establishment of Episcopacy in the United States." The next forty-one pages are filled with information concerning the dioceses of the United States. These forty-one pages are entitled *Present State of Religion in the respective diocesses* [*sic*]. They are replete with interesting data regarding the Prelates, Clergy, churches, schools and institutions of that period, and include the Archbishopric of Baltimore, the Bishoprics of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown, Louisiana, Richmond, Charleston. The one defect seems to be that the list of Clergymen is not given in full for all of the dioceses. The 1822 *Directory* also contains *A Short Account and Present State of the Society of Jesus, in the United States;* then follow eleven pages of obituary matter, and a conclusion, *An Apostrophy to the Church.* (B. Bolmore, 70 Bowery, New York, printed the work for Creagh.)

Ten years elapsed before another attempt was made to issue a *Directory* or *Almanac.* The third venture was *The United States Catholic Almanac or Laity's Directory for the Year* 1833, published in Baltimore, near the Cathedral, by James Myres. With the 1833 issue began the annual publication of the *Directory.* The 1833 issue consisted of 120 pages. The preface says:

"In offering this little volume to the public, the Editor has no other object in view than to afford some useful information to his Catholic brethren. To convey that information, he has chosen the medium of a periodical which he has designated the "Catholic Almanac," because the matter contained in it is chiefly interesting to the Catholic community. Under the character of an Almanac, it indicates the Festivals observed by the Church on each day of the year; it points out the Holidays, the days of fasting and abstinence, and the portion of scripture appointed to be read in the Church on each Sunday; it shews the changes of the Moon, the time for the Sun's rising and setting in Washington, the Metropolis of the Union, etc., etc., whilst the general body of information contained in the work will, he hopes, be a source of entertainment and gratification to all who feel an interest in the progress of religion, . . . etc., etc."

(The 1834, 1835, 1836 and 1837 volumes were also published by James Myres in Baltimore.)

Then a change took place. The name of the publication was changed to *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory,* and the 1838 issue was published by Fielding Lucas, Jr., at 138 Market Street, Baltimore. (The preface in the 1838 volume gives no hint as to the reasons causing the change of publishers.)

The next sixteen annual issues, that is, from 1839 to 1854, bore the imprint of Fielding Lucas, Jr. Mr. Lucas published his *Almanac* annually in Baltimore. The 1855, 1856 and 1857 *Almanacs* were also published in Baltimore but bore the imprint of Lucas Brothers, the sons of Fielding Lucas, Jr.

Then came another change. Lucas Brothers discontinued the publication, and the 1858 edition made its appearance in New York. The 1858 volume was published by Edward Dunigan and Brother at 371 Broadway, New York. The new publishers called their book *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac and List of the Clergy.* The title page bears the names Edward Dunigan and Brother, and James B. Kirker. In the preface the publishers explain that, as no other house was disposed to take up the work, they (Dunigan and Brother) had undertaken its publication.

In 1859 two *Almanacs* made their appearance: *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac for 1859,* published in New York by Dunigan and Brother; the other *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1859,* published by John Murphy and Co., of Baltimore. The preface to Dunigan's *Almanac* among other things says:

"The sudden appearance of a rival publication with an official sanction of *one* only of the ten provinces to which our reports refer, has compelled us to issue ours more hastily than we desired or intended."

The preface to Murphy's *Metropolitan Almanac* says:

"*The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for the United States, was commenced in Baltimore in 1832, and was issued

> without interruption until 1858, when its publishers declined its farther publication. The late Council of Baltimore, by special resolution, requested us to continue the work. We felt it our duty to comply with a request emanating from this high source; and hence we now offer to the public the twenty-sixth number of the *Catholic Almanac* . . . . etc., etc."

In 1860 the two rival publications again appeared, Dunigan's in New York and Murphy's in Baltimore. In 1861, only Murphy's *Almanac* made its appearance. In 1862 and 1863, no *Almanac* covering the *entire* United States appeared. A thirty-six page pamphlet was published in 1862, by Peter Cunningham, at 216 South Third Street, Philadelphia. This pamphlet was entitled: *The Catholic Register of the Churches and Clergy of the Diocese of Philadelphia.* In 1863, Mr. Cunningham enlarged his pamphlet to sixty-four pages, and called it: *The Catholic Almanac and Register of the Churches and Clergy of the Dioceses of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Erie.* In 1864, the complete *Directory* again made its appearance. Messrs. D. & J. Sadlier and Co., of 31 Barclay Street, New York, undertook its publication. Messrs. Sadlier renamed the work, calling it *Sadlier's Catholic Almanac and Ordo.* The title page of the 1864 issue tells the reader that the book contains full reports of the various dioceses in the United States and British North America and a list of the Clergy in Ireland. In the preface to the 1864 volume the publishers say:

> "The publication of the *Catholic Almanac* originally began in New York, where it was carried on for two years, and afterwards taken up in Baltimore . . . etc., etc. The Catholic public have been without their annual visitor during the last two years . . . etc. The present publishers intend to make it permanent, and trust that the Catholic hierarchy will sustain them. It is a matter of little pecuniary benefit to a publisher, and competition will merely produce the result of again depriving Catholics of the information of which the *Almanac* has been the medium. The preparation this year is difficult beyond precedent. From some States beyond the lines of the United States forces we can get no returns, and in some Border States they are of course less full and accurate . . . . etc., etc."

Beginning with the 1864 volume, the book was published annually by Messrs. D. & J. Sadlier & Co., of Barclay Street. In 1867, they slightly changed the name, calling it thereafter *Sadlier's Catholic Directory, Almanac and Ordo.* From 1864 to 1885 the Sadliers had the field to themselves. In 1886 the firm of Hoffmann Brothers, of Milwaukee, Wis., began a rival publication which they called *Hoffmann's Catholic Directory and Clergy List Quarterly.* In the preface to Hoffmann's *Directory* the publishers say:

> "At the urgent request of a large number of the Clergy, we undertook the publication of a *Catholic Directory*, they being dissatisfied with the one published in New York, on account of its inaccuracy, incompleteness, as also with the exorbitant price charged for it."

The Reverend Thomas Fagan, of Milwaukee, was the first editor of Hoffmann's *Directory*, and only his pen could properly depict the trials incidental to the publication of the 1886 *Directory* in Milwaukee. Sadlier's *Directory* continued in the field and, naturally, from a commercial standpoint, the Sadliers did all in their power to stop the Milwaukee publication. Father Fagan found himself involved in numberless difficulties. The Reverend Editor was refused reports here, there, and elsewhere, from bishops, archbishops and chancery officials. United States Catholic history will be without one of its most interesting pages until Father Fagan some day makes public the whole story of this venture. At any rate, in 1886, the two *Directories* appeared and from 1886 to 1896, the Sadlier and the Hoffmann *Directories* were in the field, each publication coming out annually.

For some unknown reason the Sadliers did not gather their own reports in 1895, and the Sadlier *Directory* for 1896 consists of the same sheets as does the Hoffmann volume for 1896. A comparison of the two books reveals the fact that Hoffmann's sheets are in both *Directories*. A glance at the type impressions and the "make up" of the Sadlier issues for 1895 and 1896 will prove the contention. Father Fagan, of Milwaukee, in a letter to the writer, says that, if his memory serves him rightly, Messrs. Sadlier purchased the printed sheets from Hoffmann Brothers. This does not refer, of course, to the advertising pages.

The 1896 issue was the last of the Sadlier series and the 1896 issue was, also, the last under the Hoffmann management. Sadlier's publication ceased, and the Hoffmann *Directory* became the property of Messrs. M. H. Wiltzius & Co., of Milwaukee. While the 1897 issue was being prepared the entire *Directory* plant was purchased by the Wiltzius firm. The new publishers completed and issued the 1897 *Directory* and for fifteen consecutive years thereafter the House of Wiltzius published *The Catholic Directory*. For several years the new publishers retained the name *Hoffmann's Catholic Directory;* then the title was changed to *The Catholic Directory*, and in 1906 it was named *The Official Catholic Directory*. The 1911 *Official Catholic Directory* was the last under the Wiltzius regime. In January, 1911, while the issue for that year was on the press, Mr. M. H. Wiltzius sold the entire *Directory* plant to Messrs. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, of 44 Barclay Street, New York. In May, 1911, after the 1911 volume had been distributed, the editorial records, subscription books and files, the composing room with its fifteen hundred pages of type and paraphernalia, were moved in car-load lots to Messrs. Kenedy's building on Barclay Street. The editor of the publication also transferred his headquarters from Milwaukee to New York.

The 1912, 1913, 1914 and 1915 volumes have been published by Messrs. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, one of the oldest Catholic publishing houses in this country, whose operations extend back to 1826, when Mr. John Kenedy, the grandfather of the present owners, began his publishing career in Baltimore.

The 1915 *Directory* is a bulky volume of 1598 closely printed text pages. All of the useless matter which was printed in earlier days to pad and fill out has been eliminated. The difficulties which had to be met by the various

publishers are beyond description. The preface of nearly every volume tells the same story. Reports and statistics were difficult to obtain, and each succeeding publisher has been obliged to plead for the assistance of the Reverend Clergy and Religious. Even today without the active assistance of each individual pastor and the heads of institutions, it is impossible to secure accuracy. If the Clergy and Religious do not promptly make returns to the Chancery Offices, the Reverend Officials in the Chanceries cannot make a satisfactory report for the diocese in question. The system employed at present is to send an information blank to every pastor, to the head of every institution, to the superior of every community, and to the superioress of every house conducted by Sisters. The information blanks consist of a series of questions and the blanks are to be returned to the Chancery Offices. On the receipt of the blanks the Chancery Officials make the necessary notes on the proofs of the publishers. The blanks vary according to the nature of the institution. The publishing of the annual issues of the *Directory* is a gigantic task, yet few realize the amount of work entailed. The writer of these lines, who has been editor of *The Official Catholic Directory* for the past ten years, has studied the matter from all angles, and he most respectfully asks the Reverend Clergy and the Religious to make prompt returns on the blanks supplied by the publishers. There is much negligence in this regard. Right Reverend Bishops and Chancery Officials have informed him that it is most difficult to secure returns from *all* parishes and institutions even after two and three requests have been sent.

DOCUMENTS

BISHOP FLAGET'S REPORT OF THE DIOCESE OF BARDSTOWN TO PIUS VII, APRIL 10, 1815

(*Archivio di Propaganda—America centrale.* Vol. 3, fol. 323-326.)

(Contributed by the Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P.)

Beatissime Pater,

In tanta salutantium conventione, qui in hac Sanctitatis vestræ tam mirabili et insperata recuperatione libertatis, ad pedes ejus venerabundi acciderunt; ego omnium novissimus, locisque valde remotis degens, cum illis tributum justæ jubilationis atque congratulationis promere non potui. Sed nunc, Beatissime Pater, cum majorum omnium ardor satis abunde expletus fuit, non recte faciam, si tacuero et noluero palam prodere quam boni nuntii fuerit illa dies novæ S. V. gloriosæque assumptionis; et quantum me meamque dioecesim lætitia perfuderit. Hoc debeo exultationis testimonium et cathedræ apostolicæ, cui de tanti Pontificis sessione congratulor, et tibi Pontifici Maximo, qui Sancti Petri cathedram omni exornas virtutum genere, maxime vero invicta illa et prope divina patientia qua exilium, captivitatem et tot ærumnas pertulisti. Debeo et mihi ipsi, propter illam, qua in me usus es, benignitatem, cum paulo ante istam captivitatem, novos in foederatis Americæ statibus episcopos instituens, me pauperrimum de stercore erexisti, ut cum principibus populi Dei collocares.

Litteræ Apostolicæ Sanctitatis Vestræ apud S. Petrum sub plumbo expeditæ, anno Incarnationis Domini 1808 die 8 aprilis, ad littora nostra die tantum 10 augusti anni 1810 pervenerunt. Quibus receptis, die quarta novembris ejusdem anni, munus consecrationis in me contulit illustrissimus Archiepiscopus Baltimorensis assistentibus RR. DD. Episcopis Gortynæ et Philadelphiæ; et in eorum manibus juramentum in Pontificali præscriptum fideliter præstiti; atque jam dudum litteras istas ad Beatitudinem Vestram direxissem, nisi continua maris pericula et Beatitudinis Vestræ durissima captivitas obstitissent.

Redeunte vero Baltimoro, ubi, propter hyemis acerbitatem aliosque plurimes obices, quinque menses detentus fueram, profectus sum, comitantibus duobus præsbyteris, tribusque alumnis, quasi elementis futuri, quod formare cupiebam, seminarii.

Die 9 Junii anni 1811 pagum Bardensem (Bardstown), Baltimoro 700 circiter milliaribus distantem, multis perpessis laboribus adveni. Limites hujusce dioecesis in decem circiter latitudinis gradus juxta sinistram Mississippi fluminis ripam extenduntur, et totidem fere in longitudine ducuntur. De ista dioecesi et variis eius partibus nunc ratio mihi reddenda est Sanctitati Vestræ. Continet tres status, et tria territoria quæ nondum in status erecta sunt; videlicet statum Kentuckii et statum Tennessii, quæ proprie Bardensem diœcesim constituunt; statum Ohio, ac territoria Indianum, Illiniense et Michigan, quæ prædictæ dioecesi annexæ fuerunt, donec aliter a Sede Apostolica ordinetur.

A Kentuckio incipiendum. Clerus Kentuckianus componitur ex sacerdotibus, præter episcopum, decem, subdiaconis sex, quatuor in minoribus, ordinibus constitutis, et sex primæ tonsuræ initiatis. Sacerdotes sunt primo is qui per annos septemdecim hanc dioecesis Baltimorensis partem, titulo vicarii generalis, guber-

navit; deinde ille, quem harum latorem literarum ad Vestram Sanctitatem mitto, de cuius quidem profectione maxime doleo, et inconsolabili moerore dolerem, nisi mihi spem dedisset se rediturum; quod quidem ut perficiat, Sanctitatis Vestræ interpositionem implorare præsumo. Habeo quoque hic Patrem Capucinum natione Hibernum, et mente et corpore valde infirmum, ideoque pene inutilem. Quatuor sunt e Dominicanorum familia præsbyteri, quorum unus remotam congregationem regit, alii tres in monasterio vivunt. Duo sunt e Societate S. Sulpitii sacerdotes, scilicet superior seminarii et junior presbyter a me in Kentuckio, tribus circiter abhinc annis theologiæ curriculo, ad sacrum presbyteratus ordinem promotus, manet in seminario humaniorum litterarum professor. Subdiaconi quinque sunt e familia Sancti Dominici; sextus est e seminarii alumnis, inter quos etiam numerantur ii, sive qui minoribus ordinibus sive qui prima tonsura sunt decorati.

Erectæ fuerunt in statu Kentuckii ecclesiæ novemdecim; quinque ex coctis lateribus, quarum tres nondum perfectæ sunt; aliæ, juxta morem sylvestris hujus regionis e ligneis extructæ fuerunt, decentes quidem, sed peroptandis domus Dei decoraminibus maxime destitutæ. Septem ex illis Rev. harum latoris studio et propriis sæpe sumptibus ædificatæ sunt in locis a se invicem maxime dissitis, quæ pluries in anno, zelo indefesso, peragrabat; et ubi plures alias ecclesias ædificare parabat, nisi obstitisset abeundi desiderium. Istæ mihi soli nunc incumbunt, visitandæ atque administrandæ; quem enim ad illas mittere possim, habeo neminem.

Difficile est assignare numerum catholicorum in unaquaque congregatione degentium, ob continuas transmigrationes, sive ex veteribus statibus ad Kentuckium, sive ex una parte istius status ad aliam, vel etiam ad territoria aut Louisianam, soli recentioris et pinguioris desiderio. Certum tamen videtur, animas catholicorum in isto statu non esse pauciores, quam 10,000. Facile intelliget Sanctitas Vestra quam impossibile sit tot animarum curam geri, ut par est, a decem sacerdotibus; præsertim considerare dignetur ex una parte magnam locorum a se invicem distantiam, et ex altera, duos a Patribus Dominicanis in novitiis instituendis et collegio suo regendo, totidemque in seminario nempe superiorem et professorem, in erudiendis et ecclesiastica disciplina informandis clericis maximam temporis partem consumere.

Nunc de reditibus ecclesiarum ratio reddenda esset, sed difficile hoc opus et arduum. Pluribus quidem ecclesiis prædia addita sunt, sive ab ipsis fidelibus empta, sive ab ipsis possessoribus agrorum in novis et hactenus incultis regionis partibus, donata, ad promovendam terrarum proximarum venditionem. Sed ex plerisque nulli adhuc reditus proveniunt, cum meræ sint incultæ sylvæ, nec quidquam ex iis ante 7 vel 10 annos possit expectari. Patres Dominicani prædium sibi emerunt optimum, feracissimum, et ad illorum usus sufficientissimum, amplam ecclesiam et monasterium ædificaverunt. Duo alia sunt prædia, quorum reditibus fruuntur sacerdotes iis, in quibus illa jacent congregationibus inservientes. Sed præcipue dicendum de reditu episcopali.

Cum de eligendo pro statu Kentuckii episcopo ageretur, ad Reverendissimum Archiepiscopum scripserat vicarius generalis se sufficientes reditus comparavisse. Deinde ipse ad me scripsit in duabus vel tribus epistolis, cum adhuc Baltimoro morarer, reditum meum episcopalem constare 1° prædio 364 jugerum, dicto Sancti Thomæ ob memoriam donatoris, quatuor ab oppido Bardensi milliaribus sito; quod pius laicus legaverat episcopo Bardensi tunc temporis existenti, et, quia nomen illius ibi non erat certo notum, duobus præterea sacerdotibus, nempe ipsi vicario generali et Rev. harum latori; 2° alio prædio 100 jugerum, quod jam pridem pius laicus adhuc vivens ecclesiæ donaverat; 3° agro 37 jugerum oppido

contiguo, quod ipse vicarius generalis emerat. Cum vero in dioecesim meam advenissem, et hæc postulassem ad me transferri, variis sub prætextibus se facere posse negavit. Post multa colloquia et epistolas hinc inde scriptas, atque etiam minas censurarum, cum a sententia non dimoveretur, timens ego ne magnum propter notam viri audaciam et contumaciam, oriretur scandalum, patienter distuli et procrastinavi. Cum autem necesse haberem iter ad Baltimorum suscipere ipseque eodem ire statuisset, proposui ut omnia judicio Illustrissimi Archiepiscopi referrentur. Tum, ut viam reconciliationis facilem exhiberem, Archiepiscopo declaravi me prædio Sancti Thomæ contentum fore, ut saltem residentiæ proprium locum haberem; cætera illius sacerdotis curæ committens, attamen sub inspectione mea. Archiepiscopo ita fieri judicanti tandem annuit. Sed, luctuosum dictu! ita ipse confecit, me non advertente nec de bona ipsius fide vel minimum dubitante, chirographum, quo jus suum ad totum prædium in me transferre censebatur, ut revera transtulerit tantum jus ad dimidium, nec ipsa domus, in qua nunc cum seminario meo resideo in illo includatur. Hoc neque tunc suspicatus sum, nec etiam nunc suspicarem, nisi de eo jactasset; quod quidem me incitavit ut chirographum strictius examinarem, ubi rem ita esse uti iactaverat, reperi. Propter istas ambages et multas alias quas mihi suscitavit, factum est ut necdum potuerim nec forsan per longum tempus possum cathedralem ecclesiam ædificare.

Hæc in me, Sanctissime Pater, maximos excitant angores conscientiæ, ex utraque enim parte coarctor. Si enim talem viri illius agendi normam diutius perferam, timeo ne meo officio desim. Si vero sæviam in delinquentem, timeo ne pertinacia sua et aperta rebellione maximum suscitet scandalum, et forsan in schisma prorumpat; quod maxime pertimescendum est in ista regione, ubi principia libertatis et independentiæ ad summum apicem perducta sunt, et ubi schismaticus in ipsa constitutione reipublicæ præsidium et protectionem inveniret, cum effrenata quidlibet scribendi aut dicendi licentia. Iam Illmum Archiepiscopum ea de re consului. At Sanctitatis Vestræ circa istum et alios plurimos difficiles casus, quos ad Eminentissimum Cardinalem di Pietro transmisi, sententiam et directionem humillime postulo.

Omni fere spe destitutus evangelicos operarios ex Europa obtinendi, ab initio episcopatus mei statueram formare seminarium clericorum. Quosdam juvenes jam mecum e Gallia adduxeram, qui me, ut jam dixi, in Kentuckium comitati sunt. Post sex menses, die quinta decembris 1811, inceptum est opus seminarii in ipsa domo, quam pius laicus supra memoratus legaverat, et quam bona eius vidua, quæ jus illius ad mortem usque retinendæ viri sui testamento habebat, generoso animo mihi cedere voluit. Parva fuerunt initia, lentusque progressus; nobis enim plerique alumni a primis non solum latinæ linguæ, vel grammaticæ, sed etiam lectionis et primarum literarum elementis erudiendi sunt, propter magnam hujusce regionis ignorantiam et fere barbariam. Attamen seminarium, quasi granum sinapis, divina miseratione crescit, et spem affert quorundam messorum, sed, heu! quam paucorum pro tanta messe! plerique alumni nostri sumptibus sustentantur. Multum quidem abest quin prædium, quod incolimus, tantis impensis sufficiat, sed hucusque nobis piorum aliquot amicorum eleemosynis degentes pueri bona sunt indole, optimo ingenio, ad pietatem propensi et quotidie in scientia et virtute proficientes. Illorum animos maxima erga S. Sedem Apostolicam veneratione, filialique in communem fidelium Patrem amore, diligenter imbuimus. Sanctitatis Vestræ captivitatem et ærumnas maximo cum dolore audierunt, sincero affectu lamentati sunt, magnaque sollicitudine de his sæpe a nobis perconctabantur. Enixas ad Deum preces pro ejus liberatione Deo obtuler-

unt, mos fuit in isto seminario, sicut et in Baltimorensi, quotidie recitandi psalmum 120 cum vv. *Esto ei*, etc., *Nihil proficiat* etc., *Mitte ei* etc., et oratione *Deus omnium* etc., usque ad faustum Sanctitatis Vestræ restaurationis nuntium. Publicas etiam preces in ecclesiis diebus dominicis et festis Deo mandaveramus offerri, addebaturque quotidie in missa præfata oratio.

Superior Seminarii est Sacerdos e Societate Sancti Sulpitii (ad quam etiam meipsum pertinere gestio) qui cum veteri amicitia, cum zelo ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, quod ex illa Societate hausit, mihi commendabilis est et carissimus. Circa istum mihi liceat aliquid addere Sanctitati Vestræ. Rumor ad meas aures pervenit Illmum Archiepiscopum cogitasse de eo Sanctitati Vestræ proponendo, vel etiam jam forsan proposuisse, pro episcopatu Philadelphiensi. Ad Sanctitatem Vestram pedes humillime provolutus enixe etiam atque etiam obsecro ne me privet adjutorio dioecesi meæ tantopere necessario; quo destituar, jam seminarium meum dissolvi necesse est. Ego vero omni fere privor consilio, omni in tot adversis solatio, solusque medias inter difficultates, labores atque molestias, derelinquor.

Ad piam puellarum educationem, mea authoritate fundatæ sunt duæ communitates, piarum mulierum, una Beatæ Virgini juxta crucem Jesu stanti dedicata; cujus membra, post debitum probationis tempus, sese votis simplicibus religionis obligant, undecim nunc constat puellis, quæ bonum Christi odorem jam undequaque spargunt. Hujus auctor et fundator est Rev. Carolus Nerinckx, harum lator, qui suas puellas relinquit desolatas et multo moerore confectas, utpote quæ dilectum amittunt patrem, nec ullum habent qui vices illius suppleat; quod ut fiat sollicitis a Deo precibus postulare non desinunt. Altera a me ipso congregata est non longe a seminario, sub regula puellarum charitatis Sancti Vincentii a Paulo. Decem constat puellis pietate, humilitate, obedientia aliisque religiosis virtutibus jam conspicuis. Puellarum sui sexus educationem, orphanorum, pauperum, et ægrotorum curam, aliaque misericordiæ opera complectuntur. Maxima ex illis, si Deus faveat, speranda, pro salute proximorum, utilitas.

Hæc sunt quæ de ecclesia Kentuckii Sanctitati Vestræ exponenda habebam; nunc de aliis statibus et territoriis dicendum.

In vicino statu Tennessii viginti quinque circiter sunt familiæ catholicorum omnibus prorsus ecclesiæ auxiliis destitutorum. Semel aut iterum, pluribus abhinc annis, a sacerdote Kentuckii visitatæ fuerunt; tandem enim possibile mihi fuit ad eos pergere. In statu Ohio 50 familias, in meo ad Baltimorum itinere reperi: plurimas alias audio esse in variis ejusdem status partibus dispersas, quæ ex quo in istas plagas migrarunt, nullum viderunt sacerdotem. Hinc pleræque earum quas vidi, suæ religionis fere oblitæ sunt, suosque liberos in omnimoda ignorantia educant. Hanc quoque gregis mihi commissi partem incultam, defectu operariorum, cogor relinquere; vix enim semel in anno missionarium ad illos mittere possum.

In territorio Indiano est oppidum vulgo dictum Poste Vincennes cujus habitatores maxima ex parte Galli sunt, qui illuc e Canadiensibus oris olim migrarunt. Parochia dicitur Sancti Francisci Xaverii, mihi quidem carissima est utpote a me per tres annos gubernata, statim post meum in foederatæ Americæ provincias adventum. Hanc nuper cum maxima consolatione visitavi, in eaque 230 et amplius personas confirmavi. Constat 130 familiis, quarum numerus cito maxime augeretur, si possem hic pastorem constituere. Donec hoc mihi Dominus possibile faciat, ne penitus ibi religio exstinguatur, statui bis in anno ad eos e Kentuckio mittere. Sufficiens ibi erit reditus ad duorum missionariorum sustentationem.

In territorio Illiniensi tres sunt parochiæ quas etiam proxime elapso visitavi autumno. Ibi duo sunt sacerdotes, quorum unus e Gallia in Hispaniam fugere persecutione coactus est; unde postea transivit in Americam, nunc annis pene confectus. Alter est præsbyter Canadiensis, qui cum licentia sui episcopi, ad illas partes perrexit. In istis tribus parochiis 120 circiter familiæ catholicorum reperiuntur, præcipue Gallorum. Americani qui illas plagas incolunt, plerique e grege hæreticorum, omnibus fere suarum sectarum ministris sunt destituti, et ad catholicam fidem facili negotio adducerentur, si essent ibi missionarii, qui zelo et doctrinæ illorum linguæ peritiam adjungerent. Nulli sunt in illis parochiis reditus fixi, stipendia a fidelibus, pastoribus solvuntur.

In opposita ripa fluminis Mississippi, quæ Louisiana superior nuncupatur, sex parochias quæ ad dioecesim Neo-Orleanensem pertinent, utpote meæ contiguas, visitavi, et quidem cum magna consolatione et fructu animarum non modico. Scintillam enim fidei ibi non penitus extinctam nova et inusitata episcopi præsentia resuscitavit. Quinque ex Gallis, una ex Americanis, constant. In istis parochiis, et in tribus supra memoratis in sinistra ripa, 1200 personis sacramentum confirmationis administravi. Unum tantum reliqui in ista plaga sacerdotem ex Ordine S. Bernardi et congregatione Trappistarum, qui nunc a superioribus, cum magno illarum parochiarum detrimento, et maxima contra meam inclinationem revocatur. Inde quippe fiet ut congregatio Americanorum omni privetur spirituali adjumento, et quinque Gallorum parochiæ nullum obtineant, nisi quod illis identidem administrare poterunt duo missionarii in sinistra ripa constituti.

In territorio Michigan est parochia quæ dicitur Sanctæ Annæ in oppido vulgo dicto Detroit, adeo numerosa ut necessa videatur illam in duas scindere; 1500 animas continet; alia est in loco vulgo dicto la Rivière aux Raisins, cujus nomen ignoro; 500 circiter animis consistens. Utraque regitur a sacerdote Sancti Sulpitii. Decimas ei solvunt parochiani. Has non potui visitare, propter bellum quod tempore meæ visitationis in illis locis exardebat. Præterea, in mea excursione audivi de quatuor Gallorum congregationibus in medio Indianorum constitutis, quæ ad meam dioecesim pertinent; unam in superioribus Mississippi partibus, aliam in loco vulgo dicto Chicagou, aliam ad littus laci Michigan, quartam denique versus originem fluminis Illiniensium, neque per tempus per bellum mihi licuit illos visitare.

Quid dicam Sanctitati Vestræ de multitudine hæriticorum inter quos versamur? Tres præcipuæ sectæ hic vigent, Præsbyterianorum, Anabaptistarum et Methodistarum. In quibusdam locis invenitur secta quædam Quakerorum. Maxima pars eorum, qui ad illas sectas pertinent, omnino ignorant propriam suæ sectæ doctrinam. Innumeri sunt homines, qui nullam sectam profitentur, sed in omnimoda indifferentia vivunt, quorum Deus aut mammon aut venter est. Si copia missionariorum afforet multi ad ecclesiam catholicam facile reduci possent, præsertim ubi nullum habent suæ religionis ministrum.

Quid dicam de innumeris Indianorum gentibus, quæ vastas incolunt regiones sive ex utraque parte fluminis Mississippi, sive ex utraque parte usque ad illorum fluviorum fontes; quarum pleræque de Evangelio nunquam audierunt. Inter aliquot ex illis cernuntur quidem aliqua prædicatæ olim vestigia externa fidei; interna autem nulla deprehendi possunt. Hic, Beatissime Pater, apertum est ostium magnum et evidens propagationi evangelii. Dominus Clark qui cum pluribus comitibus fluvium Missouri per spatium 3000 milliarium ascendit, montes ex quibus ducit originem, pertransivit, et per fluvium Columbiam ex altera parte montium, usque ad mare pacificum descendit, mihi asseruit innumeras se invenisse indianas nationes ex utraque parte montium, quæ priua

nunquam homines albos viderant, et quas testatur esse mansuetæ atque humanissimæ indolis, quæ proinde haud difficile sub evangelii jugo colla flecterent. Quem mittam? et quis ibit nobis? Dum hæc et similia mente revolverem, quanto mentem meam gaudio perfudit nuntius de restauratione Societatis illius egregiæ virorum apostolicorum, qui sæculis proxime elapsis lumen Evangelii tot barbarorum gentibus intulerunt! quam pretiosa etiamnum extant, in locis quæ perlustravi, illorum zeli et sanctitatis vestigia! Hos arbitror, Sanctissime Pater, esse viros quos Deus ad grande illud opus destinavit; ut scilicet evangelium regni prædicetur in toto mundo, numerus electorum impleatur, et tunc omnis rei finis adveniat. Quam felicem me existimarem, si quando ex illo insigni et mihi specialiter dilecto Ordine aliquot ad me missionarii mitterentur. Amplum certe invenirent suo zelo campum in parochiis SS. Genovefæ, Ludovici, Ferdinandi, Caroli, etc. ex quibus obvius est et facilis ad Indianos transitus.

Hæc sunt præcipua, Sanctissime Pater, quæ Sanctitati Vestræ circa huius dioecesis administrationem proponenda habebam. Nunc ad pedes Beatitudinis Vestræ humillime prostratus suppliciter oro atque deprecor ut paternam benedictionem et pastori et gregi liberaliter impertiri dignetur. Christus Dominus Sanctitatem Vestram quam diutissime nobis servet incolumem.

Bardstown die 10 aprilis anni 1815.

Beatitudinis Vestræ
indignus et humillimus servus,
✠ Benedictus Josephus,
Bardensis episcopus.

(Translation.)

Most Holy Father,

Among such a great number of congratulations on the part of those who, filled with veneration, have cast themselves at Your feet on account of the very remarkable and unexpected recovery of Your Holiness' liberty,[1] as the least of them all and living at such a great distance, I was not able to join with them in their just tribute of happiness and felicitation.[2] Now, however, Most Holy Father, since the strong desire of all the older Bishops has been abundantly fulfilled, I should not act rightly if I kept silence and did not declare publicly what great joy filled my diocese and myself to learn of Your recent glorious resumption of the Apostolic Throne. I owe this testimony of exultation both to the Apostolic See which I congratulate on its possessing so eminent a Pontiff, and to You, who, as Supreme Pontiff, adorn the Chair of St. Peter with every kind of virtue, but especially with that indomitable and almost divine patience with which You endured Your exile and captivity with their innumerable trials. I owe it also on my own account for the kindness

[1] Pius VII (1800-1823) was arrested by Napoleon's order on July 5, 1809, and was imprisoned at Savona until May, 1812, when he was removed to Fontainebleau. He was released early in 1814, and returned to Rome in the spring of that year.

[2] On April 8, 1808 Pius VII by the Bulls *Pontifici muneris* and *Ex debito pastoralis officio*, erected the Sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown. Benedict Joseph Flaget, a Sulpician (1763-1850), was elected to the See of Bardstown. He refused the honor and returned to France to escape the burdens of the episcopate; but his superior, Father Emery made it known to him that Pius VII would accept no refusal. Bishop Flaget then returned to Baltimore and was consecrated (November 8, 1810), by Archbishop Carroll. He reached his Diocese June 9, 1811.

which You showed to me, when shortly before that captivity, in establishing new Bishops in the United States, You lifted poor me out of the dunghill to set me up with the princes of the people of God.[3]

The Apostolic letter of Your Holiness written from St. Peter's and despatched under the leaden seal in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1808, on the eighth day of April, came to our shores only on the tenth day of August, 1810.[4] On the fourth day of November of the same year in which the letter was received, the illustrious Archbishop of Baltimore, with the assistance of the Right Reverend Bishops of Gortyna and Philadelphia,[5] consecrated me Bishop; and in their presence I faithfully took the oath prescribed in the Pontifical. Long ago I would have sent this letter direct to Your Holiness, had not the uninterrupted series of risks on sea and Your own cruel captivity prevented me.

On my return I was detained five months in Baltimore on account of the severe winter and many other obstacles. Thence I set out accompanied by two priests and three pupils who were to form the beginning, as it were, of

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[3] The Rev. John Cheverus, a French missionary, was appointed Ordinary of the See of Boston; Rev. Michael Egan, O. S. F., to that of Philadelphia; and Revs. Benedict Joseph Flaget, S. S., and Richard Luke Concanen, an eminent Irish Dominican long resident at Rome, to the Sees of Bardstown and New York respectively. Doctor Concanen was consecrated at Rome, April 24, 1808; but, as Napoleon Bonaparte held all the Italian seaports under blockade, he could not reach his Diocese. He died at Naples, where he had gone in the hope of sailing for the United States, June 19, 1810. Since the Bishop of New York had been entrusted with the papers regarding these affairs of the American Church, the same causes that prevented him from coming to America also prevented these documents from reaching their destination. Hence the delay in Bishop Flaget's consecration spoken of a few lines later on in this account of his Diocese.

[4] This statement of Bishop Flaget, that the letters of Pius VII appointing him to the See of Bardstown did not arrive in America until August 10, 1810, suggests a doubt on three points in the history of the Church in the United States, which, though of minor moment, the Catholic historian would like to see definitely settled. The original papal documents erecting our first Archbishopric and four new American Sees and appointing their occupants, seem to have been lost or destroyed by French officials on the death of Doctor Concanen. But Concanen, before he attempted to sail from Naples, had authentic copies of these papers made, one set of which he placed in the hands of (Rev.?) John Agenti, his agent at Rome, and sent another to Father Emery, superior of the Sulpicians in France, and a friend of Archbishop Carroll. (Concanen, Rome, March 26, 1810, to Rev. Ambrose Marechal, Lyons, France: *Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 4). In the meantime Bishop-elect Flaget had gone to France in the hope of being freed from the episcopal burden. Obliged to accept the See of Bardstown, he returned to America for his consecration. SHEA, (*Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 678. New York, 1888), tells us that Monsignor Quarrantotti forwarded copies of the above papal papers to Archbishop Carroll by Rev. Maurice Virola, O. S. F., but that Flaget returned to the United States in August, 1810, bringing with him the copies sent to Father Emery; and that Archbishop Carroll acted on the authority of the copies brought by Flaget, when he proceeded to the consecration of the new Bishops and to place their Dioceses under their charge. On the other hand, SPALDING, (*Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 65. Louisville 1852), says Flaget returned to Baltimore early in July, 1810. WEBB, (*The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, p. 214. Louisville 1884), agrees with Spalding. The three doubtful points are: 1) The date of Bishop Flaget's return to Baltimore. 2) Did Flaget bring with him to America the copies of the papal documents which Concanen sent to Father Emery? This would seem improbable, if, as Spalding (*o. c.*, p. 165) states, Flaget sailed from France, April 10, 1810; for Concanen's letter to Marechal, of March 26, shows that these copies were not then completed. 3) What copies of these documents did Archbishop Carroll use as authorization for consecrating Bishops Cheverus, Egan and Flaget?

[5] Bishop Leonard Neale, S. J., then coadjutor to Baltimore and afterwards its second Archbishop, and Bishop Michael Egan. Bishop Egan was consecrated on October 28, and Bishop Cheverus on November 1,—both by Archbishop Carroll, and both in old Saint Peter's Cathedral, Baltimore. Bishop Flaget was consecrated in Saint Patrick's Church, Fell's Point, now a part of the city of Baltimore.

the future Seminary which I was anxious to erect.[6] On the ninth day of June, in the year 1811, after undergoing many hardships, I reached the village of Bardstown, a distance of about 700 miles from Baltimore. The limits of this Diocese extend for about ten degrees of latitude up the left bank of the Mississippi River, and almost as many degrees in longitude.

I must now write to Your Holiness a statement concerning this Diocese and its various divisions. It embraces three States and three Territories which have not yet been erected into States, namely, the State of Kentucky and the State of Tennessee, which States constitute the Diocese of Bardstown proper, the State of Ohio, and the Territories of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan which have been joined to the aforesaid Diocese until it shall be otherwise ordered by the Apostolic See.

To begin with Kentucky: the clerical body of Kentucky consists of ten priests besides the Bishop, six subdeacons, four students in minor orders and six who have been admitted to tonsure. The priests are: first, the one who for seventeen years governed this part of the Diocese of Baltimore as Vicar General.[7] Next, the one whom I am sending as the bearer of this letter to Your Holiness and at whose departure I am especially pained and would feel an inconsolable sorrow had I not the hope of his return.[8] And, that he may do this, I venture to ask the intervention of Your Holiness. I have also here a Capuchin Father, an Irishman by birth, very infirm in mind and body, and therefore hardly serviceable.[9] There are four priests of the Dominican Order, one of whom has charge of a distant congregation; the other three live in their monastery.[10] There are two priests of the Society of St. Sulpice, namely, the Superior of the Seminary and a young priest whom I ordained in Kentucky after a course of three years or more in theology. He resides in the Seminary as professor of classics.[11] There are five subdeacons who belong to the Order of St. Dominic; the sixth is one of the pupils of the Seminary, among whom are also numbered those who are in minor orders and those who have received tonsure.[12]

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[6] The two priests were Revs. John B. David, afterwards coadjutor to Bishop Flaget, and —— Savine, a Canadian. The three students were Messrs. Guy Ignatius Chabrat, a subdeacon and later the first priest ordained in Kentucky and later coadjutor to Bishop Flaget, Anthony Deydier and —— Derigaud. Both Deydier and Derigaud became priests. These students had been brought from France by Flaget on his return to America.

[7] Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin.

[8] Rev. Charles Nerinckx.

[9] A Father O'Flynn.

[10] Revs. Samuel T. Wilson, Provincial; Edward D. Fenwick, later the first Bishop of Cincinnati, Ohio; William R. Tuite, and Robert A. Angier. Father Angier had charge of Saint Francis (now Saint Dominic's), Scott County, and of succursal missions in northern and western Kentucky. Fathers Wilson, Tuite, and Fenwick made their home at Saint Rose's Priory; but the latter spent nearly all his time on the missions.

[11] Rev. John B. David and Guy Ignatius Chabrat. Father Chabrat was ordained in the Dominican church of Saint Rose, Dec. 23, 1811.

[12] The five subdeacons belonging to the Order of Saint Dominic were: Richard P. Miles, later the first Bishop of Nashville, Tennessee, Samuel L. and Stephen H. Montgomery, William T. Willett, and Nicholas D. Young, who afterwards became one of Ohio's most efficient missionaries. The subdeacon at the seminary was either Anthony Deydier or —— Derigaud, that is, one of the two young Frenchmen who accompanied the bishop to Kentucky. It will be noticed that while Bishop Flaget, at the beginning of this paragraph, says there were ten priests in Kentucky, he mentions only nine in particular. The tenth must have been Rev. Peter Schaeffer. Webb (*Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 145-146), thinks he was ordained late in 1814. Yet the Bishop says nothing of this ordination. It could hardly have been the silenced priest whom Shea more than once, and quite erroneously, calls a Dominican.

Nineteen churches have been erected in the State of Kentucky. Five are of brick; three of them have not yet been finished. The others, according to the custom of this forest region, have been constructed of wood.[13] They are well-constructed indeed, but lack those ornaments which are especially desirable for the House of God. Seven of them the Reverend bearer of this letter has erected through his own zeal and often at his own expense in places far distant from one another. These in his unwearied zeal he visits many times in a year, and he was preparing to build some other churches, had not the desire of going away hindered him. These churches are now a charge on myself alone. I must visit and manage them for I have no one to send to them. It is difficult to give the exact number of the Catholics living in each congregation on account of continual emigrations, either from the older States to Kentucky, or from one part of that State to another, or also to the Territories, or to Louisiana, on account of the desire for new and more fertile ground. However, it seems certain that the Catholic souls in this State number not less than 10,000. Your Holiness will easily understand how impossible it is for so many souls to be properly looked after by ten priests. What is especially worthy of consideration is that the places are far distant from one another and that two of the Dominican Fathers spend the greater part of their time in training their novices and in caring for their college; and two other priests are in the Seminary acting as Superior and professor, in educating and training our clerics in ecclesiastical discipline.[14]

I must now render an account of the revenue of the churches. This is, however, a difficult and onerous task. To many of the churches properties have been added, either bought by the faithful themselves or donated by the owners in new and hitherto uncultivated parts of this region, for the purpose of promoting the sale of bordering lands. But from many of them up to this time no revenues have been received, since they are mere uncultivated forests and nothing can be expected from them before seven or ten years. The Dominican Fathers bought for themselves an excellent property, very fertile and quite ample for their own use. They have built a large church and monastery. There are two other properties whose revenues are enjoyed by the priests serving the congregations in which these properties lie.[15]

But in particular I must say this with regard to the episcopal revenues: when the question was raised about choosing a Bishop for the State of Kentucky, the Vicar General had written to the Most Reverend Archbishop [Carroll]

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[13] One of the two completed brick churches was that of Saint Rose belonging to the Dominican Fathers. The other was probably the Church of Saint Patrick, Danville, although a letter of Father Badin, which the annotator cannot now lay hands on, gives reason for thinking that that church might have been sold before it was completed for the debts of one David McIlvoy, the donator of the land on which it stood, and for which no deed had been given. One of the three in course of construction was probably that of Saint Hubert (now Saint Augustine's), Lebanon. The other two are unknown to the annotator. Various log or wooden churches were widely scattered throughout the State.

[14] Fathers David and Chabrat taught at the Seminary, and Fathers Wilson and Tuite at the Dominican college and novitiate.

[15] Bishop Flaget could hardly have known of the dire poverty of the Dominican fathers, when he wrote of their prosperous condition. At this time they were sorely pressed with debts, and many of their collegians were rather objects of charity than a means of support. For a fair history of their priory and college in the early days, see *Dominican Year Book*, (1913), pp. 74 ff., article, *Saint Rose Priory, near Springfield, Kentucky*. The two other farms were one attached to the Church of Saint Francis in Scott County, and the other possibly a small part of land belonging to one of the missions attended from that place.

that he had found sufficient revenues. Then he himself wrote to me in two or three letters, while I was yet stationed in Baltimore, that my episcopal revenues consisted of a property of 364 acres, called *St. Thomas*,[16] in memory of the donor, and situated about four miles from Bardstown, which a pious layman willed to the Bishop of Bardstown, then living; but because the name of the Bishop was not known for certain at that time, he willed it to two other priests, namely, the Vicar General himself, and the Reverend bearer of this letter. Secondly, of another property of 100 acres which had been donated sometime before by a pious layman who is still living. Thirdly, of a field of 37 acres, close to the town, bought by the Vicar General himself. But when I arrived in my Diocese and asked that this be transferred to me, on various pretexts he said that he could not do so. After many discussions and letters written between us, and even after threats of censures, because of his stubbornness in his opinion, fearing that great scandal might arise if the man's boldness and contumacy were known, I waited patiently and kept putting the matter off. When I was obliged to go to Baltimore, however, he decided also to go there, and I proposed that everything be referred to the judgment of the illustrious Archbishop.[17] Then, to show an easy way of reconciliation, I made it clear to the Archbishop that I would be content with the property of St. Thomas (that I might have at least my own place for a residence), entrusting the rest to the care of that priest, but under my supervision. When the Archbishop finally judged it prudent to be arranged in this way, he agreed. Sad to say, while I did not think, nor doubt even, anything about his good faith, he drew up the document in such a way that it was thought that his right to the whole property was transferred to me, but he really transferred only his right to half of the property, and the very house in which I am now living with my seminarians was not included in the document. At that time, I did not suspect this, nor would I suspect it now, had he not boasted of it. This, indeed, roused me to examine the document more closely, and there I found the matter to be just as he had boasted. On account of these entanglements and many others which he caused me, I was not able, and perhaps I shall not be able for a long time, to build a cathedral church. These matters, Most Holy Father, give me great anguish of conscience, for I hesitate between two difficulties. If I suffer any longer such conduct on the part of that man, I am afraid of failing in my duty; if I punish his delinquency, I feel that by his stubbornness and open rebellion he will stir up great scandal and perhaps break out into schism. And such a thing is to be dreaded, especially in this country where the principles of liberty and independence are carried to such extremes, and where a schismatic finds support and protection in the very Constitution of the Republic and has unbridled liberty to write and say whatever he pleases. I have already consulted the illustrious Archbishop about this and

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[16] The donor of this land was Thomas Howard. It was willed to the future Bishop and to Fathers Badin and Nerinckx. But the names of the two priests were mentioned merely to assure the property to the Church.

[17] A letter of Rev. Edward D. Fenwick, O. P., from Saint Rose's, May 25, 1812, to Jacob Dittoe, living near Somerset, Ohio, shows that, before it was arranged for Badin to accompany Flaget to Baltimore, the Bishop and Fenwick were to make the journey together as far at least as Ohio. "I will be with you, if possible, in August or September at the latest. The Bishop of Kentucky will also be with you, and between us both, we can surely satisfy you & give you all advice &c. necessary." (*Archives of Saint Joseph's*, at the College of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D. C.) Doubtless this arrangement was changed for the one mentioned in this document.

many other difficult cases which I have forwarded to His Eminence Cardinal di Pietro, and I most humbly ask the opinion and direction of Your Holiness in this matter.[18]

Destitute of almost every hope of obtaining co-laborers from Europe, I decided at the beginning of my episcopate to establish a Seminary. I had already brought with me some young men from France, and, as I have already said, they accompanied me to Kentucky. After six months, on the fifth day of December, 1811, the Seminary was begun in the house which the above-mentioned pious layman had bequeathed and which his good widow, who had the right according to the will of her husband of retaining it till her death, was generously willing to bestow on me. The beginnings were small and the progress slow, for at first very many of the pupils had to be instructed not only in Latin and grammar, but also in the very elements of reading and writing, such is the great and almost barbaric ignorance of this district. However, the Seminary, like the grain of mustard seed, is increasing by divine mercy and gives hope of harvest. But, alas, how few for so great a harvest! Many of our pupils are maintained at our own expense. The property on which we live is far from sufficient for our many expenses; but, so far, by the charity of some pious friends, the boys, who are of good chraacter and of fine talent, are drawn towards piety and daily advance in knowledge and virtue. We are careful to imbue their minds with great veneration for the Holy Apostolic See and with filial love for the Father of all the faithful. They heard with great sorrow of the captivity and trials of Your Holiness; they lamented it with sincere sorrow and they all often speak to us with great anxiety about it. It was the custom in this Seminary, just as in Baltimore, to recite daily Psalm 120 with the verses *Esto ei, etc., Nihil proficiat, etc., Mitte ei, etc., etc.,* and with the prayer *Deus omnium, etc.,* up to the time of the happy announce-

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[18] The story of Father Badin's refusal to convey the church property in Kentucky to Bishop Flaget gives us a peculiar specimen of canon law. During the years that he was Doctor Carroll's Vicar General in the State, Badin acquired considerable land for the Church. This, under Carroll's instructions, he held in his own name, but in trust for the Church. Yet, when the new Bishop arrived, Badin positively refused to give him deeds to any of this property. Threats of various ecclesiastical penalties and actual deposition from the position of Vicar General failed to have any effect. The matter dragged along from the time of the Bishop's arrival in Kentucky until the fall of 1812, when the two went to Baltimore. There the affair was laid before Carroll. Bishop Flaget offered to relinquish his claim to the revenues (retaining, however, the right of supervision) from all the other diocesan land, provided Badin would give him an unconditional deed to the farm on which the Seminary and the Bishop's residence stood. This Badin agreed to do, and Carroll was a witness to the agreement. A deed was handed to Flaget which, as he believed every thing had been done in accordance with the above agreement, he accepted in good faith and did not examine. Nearly two years later, hearing that Badin often boasted that he still held legal rights to the Seminary, the Bishop examined the deeds and found that he had been given only one-half of the farm; and that this half was not that on which were his residence and Seminary. (Bishop Flaget, Feb. 16, 1815, to Rev. John Marechal, Baltimore: *Baltimore Archives,* Case 21 A, C. 4; and Rev. John David, Saint Thomas' Seminary, June 19, 1815, to Arcbhishop Carroll, Baltimore; *ibid.,* Case 3, A 2). Father Badin, writing to Rev. John Marechal, July 14, 1815, gives his side of the controversy in a way that is quite characteristic of him. If the missionary's letter may be trusted, it would seem, indeed, that, unknown to the Bishop, Father Nerinckx, who conveyed his rights to the farm in question to Flaget without protest, encouraged Badin in his peculiar course. For in this letter Badin tells Marechal that he had been advised . . . "by some respectable clergymen to whom I communicated the original writings. . . ." As Father Nerinckx was about the only friend Badin had left among the clergy of Kentucky at this time, he would seem to have been the adviser. (Rev. Stephen T. Badin, July 14, 1815, to Rev. John Marechal, Baltimore: *Baltimore Archives,* Case 13, I 1).

ment of the restoration of Your Holiness. We had ordered public prayers to be offered up to God also in the churches on Sundays and Feast-Days and the above-mentioned prayer was daily added to the Mass.

The Superior of the Seminary is a priest of the Society of St. Sulpice (of which I too am happy to be a member), who, on account of our old friendship and on account of his zeal for ecclesiastical discipline which he imbibed from that Society, is very commendable and dear to me. Concerning him, may I be permitted to say something to Your Holiness. The rumor has come to me that the most illustrious Archbishop had considered proposing him to Your Holiness, or perhaps he has already proposed him, for the Bishopric of Philadelphia. Prostrate most humbly at the feet of Your Holiness, I beseech You strongly not to deprive me of so great and so necessary a helper in my diocese. If I should lose him it would be necessary, indeed, to dissolve my Seminary. In truth, I am deprived of almost all counsel and of all consolation in innumerable adversities, and I am left alone in the midst of difficulties, hardships and trials.

For the religious education of girls, two communities of women have been established by my authority. One is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin at the Foot of the Cross of Jesus, and its members after a sufficient time of probation bind themselves by the simple vows of religion.[19] This community now consists of twelve young women who are diffusing the good odor of Christ on all sides. The author and founder of this order is Rev. Charles Nerinckx, the bearer of this letter, who leaves his young charges desolate and afflicted with deep sorrow, for surely they are losing a beloved Father and they have no one to take his place. And that this may be done they cease not to ask from God with anxious prayers. The other community I founded myself not far from the Seminary, under the rule of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. It consists of ten young women, already spoken well of for their piety, humility, obedience, and other religious virtues. They are engaged in the education of girls, the care of orphans, of the poor and sick, and in other works of mercy. The greatest help, if God favors us, is expected from them for the salvation of our neighbors.

Such are the facts which I desired to set before Your Holiness about the Church of Kentucky.

To come now to the other States and Territories. In the neighboring State of Tennessee there are about twenty-five Catholic families, who are destitute of every help of the Church. Once or twice, many years ago, they were visited by a priest from Kentucky;[20] at length it was possible for me to go to them. On my journey to Baltimore I found fifty Catholic families in the State of Ohio. I heard that there are many others scattered in various parts of the same State, but those who have migrated from that State to these regions have never seen a priest. Hence many of those I met have almost forgotten their religion and they are bringing up their children in complete ignorance. And this neglected portion of the flock committed to me, I am compelled to leave

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[19] The Sisters of Loretto at the foot of the Cross of Jesus were founded in 1812 by Father Charles Nerinckx. Cf. MAES, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*. Cincinnati, 1880; MINOGUE, *Loretto Annals of the Century*. New York, 1912. A new biography of Father Nerinckx is in course of publication by the present chaplain of the Loretto Mother House, the Rev. William J. Howlett.

[20] Father Badin visited Tennessee once or twice.

on account of lack of workers, for I can scarcely send a missionary to them even once a year.[31]

In the Territory of Indiana is a town known as *Poste Vincennes*, and its inhabitants are for the most part French who formerly migrated thither from the borders of Canada. There is a parish called *St. Francis Xavier*, and it is indeed very dear to me as I had charge of it for three years immediately after my coming to the Province of the United States.[32] I visited this parish lately with the greatest consolation and confirmed over 230 persons there. It consists of 130 families whose number would soon be greatly increased if I could send a priest there. Until the Lord makes this possible to me, in order that the faith may not be wholly extinguished there, I decided to send a priest from Kentucky to them twice in the year. There will be sufficient revenue there for the support of two missionaries.

In the Territory of Illinois there are three parishes which I also visited the past autumn.[33] There are two priests there, one of whom was forced to flee on account of the persecution from France into Spain, whence he afterwards crossed to America. He is very much enfeebled by his years.[34] The other is a Canadian priest who came to these parts with his Bishop's permission.[35] In these three parishes there are about 120 families, mostly French. The Americans who inhabit these regions, are for the most part heretics, and are generally without ministers of their own sects and could be brought into the Catholic faith with little difficulty if there were missionaries who joined to their zeal and doctrines a knowledge of the language of these people. There are no fixed revenues in these parishes. Stipends are paid by the faithful to their pastors.

On the opposite bank of the Mississippi River, which is called Upper Louisiana, I visited, since they are close to my Diocese, six parishes which belong to the Diocese of New Orleans; and indeed with great consolation and not a little harvest of souls.[36] For the spark of faith, not yet thoroughly extinct, was revived by the new and unusual presence of a Bishop. Five of the parishes are made up of French, one of Americans. In these parishes and

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[31] Rev. Edward D. Fenwick, O. P., was the missionary who visited Ohio. For his labors there see *Dominican Year Book*, 1913, pp. 88-90: article, *Saint Rose Priory, near Springfield, Kentucky*. SPALDING, *Life of Bishop Flaget*, pp. 108 ss., gives an account of the Bishop's journey through Ohio. The annotator of this article discovered, in the summer of 1914, Bishop Flaget's *Journal* of his journey, which was thought to be lost, in the library of the former diocesan Seminary at Preston Park, Louisville. It is now in possession of Bishop O'Donaghue, of Louisville, Kentucky.

[32] Bishop Flaget was a missionary at Post-Vincennes, 1793-95.

[33] These were the parishes of *Cahokia, Kaskaskia* and *Prairie du Rocher*.

[34] The Rev. Donatian Olivier.

[35] This was Father —— Savine who accompanied Bishop Flaget to Kentucky, in 1811.

[36] SPALDING (*Life of Bishop Flaget*, pp. 129-143), recounting the journey of Flaget through Indiana, Illinois and Missouri from the Bishop's *Journal*, says he left Kentucky in May and returned late in November, 1814. From the same source we learn the names of the following places visited to the west of the Mississippi: *Saint Louis, Saint Charles, Saint Genevieve, Florissant* and *Portage aux Sioux*. A sixth parish mentioned in the *Journal* as visited, but not named, SPALDING (*o. c.*, p. 134, note) surmises might have been *Dardennes*. A seventh congregation that benefitted by Flaget's zeal was an American Catholic settlement, doubtless that mentioned at the end of this paragraph. This settlement is not named, but it was probably either *Tucker's Settlement*, or that known by the name of *Fenwick*, begun by settlers of that patronymic from Kentucky. (Cf. MAES, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, p. 202). A diligent search failed to locate this volume of Bishop Flaget's *Journal*.

in the three above mentioned on the left bank, I administered the sacrament of Confirmation to 1200 persons. In that region I found only one priest, of the Order of the St. Bernard [*sic*] (Congregation of Trappists), who is being recalled by his superiors with great loss to those parishes and much against my will.[27] For the result will surely be that the American congregation will be deprived of all spiritual aid and the five parishes of French will receive no help, unless it be what these two missionaries established on the left bank can do for them.

In the territory of Michigan there is a parish called *St. Ann's*, in a town known as *Detroit*. It is so large that it seems necessary to divide it into two parts. One contains 1500 souls. The other is in a place called *La Rivière aux Raisins*, the name of which I do not know, which consists of about 500 souls.[28] Each is in charge of a Sulpician.[29] The parishioners pay their tithes to him. I could not visit these places on account of the War which was raging in these places at the time of my visitation.[30] Besides these, on my journey, I heard of four French congregations settled in the midst of the Indians, who belonged to my diocese, one on the upper part of the Mississippi,[31] one in the place commonly called *Chicago*, another on the shore of Lake Michigan,[32] a fourth near the head of the Illinois River.[33] But neither the time nor the war would permit me to visit them.

What shall I say to Your Holiness about the large number of the heretics amongst whom we live. Three principal sects prevail here, the *Presbyterians*, the *Baptists* and the *Methodists*. In some places is found also a certain sect called *Quakers*. The majority of those who belong to these sects are wholly ignorant of the doctrines proper to their sect. There are a great many who belong to no sect at all but live in complete indifference, whose God is either Mammon or their belly. If a sufficient number of missionaries were here, many of these people could easily be brought back to the Catholic Church, especially in places where there is no minister of their own religion.

What shall I say about the numerous tribes of Indians who inhabit these vast regions on both sides of the Mississippi River or on each side up to the sources of that stream, and many of whom never heard of the Gospel? Among some of them can be seen still some external traces of the faith preached to them at one time, but no internal signs can be apprehended. Here, Most Holy Father, is open a great and evident door for the propagation of the Gospel. Mr. Clark, who ascended the Missouri River for a distance of 3000 miles with a large body of companions and crossed over the mountains in which it takes its rise, and then along the Columbia River on the other side of the mountains to the Pacific Ocean, told me that he found many Indian nations on each side

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[27] This was Father Mary Joseph Dunand. Father Dunand had been with the Trappists in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri. He remained in the West, when the rest of the community left there to return to France. On this short-lived Trappist community cf. *Relation de ce qui est arrivé à deux Religieux de la Trappe pendant leur séjour auprès des sauvages*, cited by SHEA, Vol. I, p. 528.

[28] The name of the church on Raisin River was *Saint Anthony of Padua*. At this time it was in a state of decay.

[29] Rev. Gabriel Richard.

[30] The War of 1812.

[31] Probably *Prairie du Chien*, Wisconsin.

[32] Probably *Green Bay*, Wisconsin.

[33] The present name of this town is uncertain.

of the mountains who had never seen white men before and whom he testified to be of a very mild and gentle nature, who, therefore, would bend their heads easily to the yoke of the Gospel. Whom shall I send and who will go for us? When I ponder over these and similar things in my mind, great joy is brought to my heart by the news of the restoration of that remarkable Society of apostolic men who brought the light of the Gospel in years gone by to so many barbarous nations.[84] How precious even now are the existing traces of their zeal and holiness in the lands which I have traversed. These are the men I think, Most Holy Father, whom God has ordained for this magnificent work, namely, that the Gospel of the Kingdom be preached in the whole world, that the number of the elect be filled, and then that the end of all things come. How happy I would be if at some time from that noted and, to me specially dear, Order some missionaries were sent to me. They would certainly find a large field for their zeal in the parishes of *St. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand, St. Charles*, etc., and from these the way to the Indians is clear and easy.

These are the principal things, Most Holy Father, which I have decided to set forth to You concerning the administration of this Diocese, and now, humbly prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, I suppliantly beg and beseech that You vouchsafe to grant Your kind and paternal benediction to its pastor and his flock. May Christ our Lord keep Your Holiness safe for many years to come.

Your Holiness'
Most unworthy and humble servant,
✠ Benedict Joseph,
Bishop of Bardstown.

Bardstown,
The tenth day of April, of the year 1815.

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[84] The Society of Jesus, solemnly re-established in 1814 by Pius VII.

BOOK REVIEWS

Frémont and '49. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh. New York and London: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914. Pp. 547 + Maps and Illustrations.

Though special emphasis is placed upon the crowded events of 1849, this fine volume tells the story of Frémont's interesting career from the dreaming days of his boyhood to the ardent years of his active manhood and his old age, if one can be said ever to have grown old who was plotting journeys even on his bed of death. Perhaps the rhetorician will object in this book to certain faults of style. If so, he need not seek far for illustrations. Nor will he read long until he discovers merits that greatly outweigh these defects of form. Quite apart from the intrinsic interest of the subject the author's information concerning it is abundant. Dealing as it does to a great extent with the physical geography of the vast country between the Mississippi River and the distant Pacific, it is no slight advantage to a reader to have meadow, lake, and stream described by one who has seen them as well as one who has gazed upon and painted the everlasting Sierras. That the author holds in memory a good outline of American history is shown by the fact that almost every event under consideration is placed in its proper setting. But it is not alone the author's ample knowledge of everything connected with his theme, for this might be achieved by industry. He is temperate in statement and under nearly all circumstances just. Just not only to the Indian, seldom the subject of panegyric, but to the Mexican, in Anglo-American eyes on a stratum, perhaps, a trifle lower. This trait in the author, by no means a common one, reveals a man of fine integrity and considerable breadth of soul. The Sierras were not to Mr. Dellenbaugh as is a landscape to a blind man's eye, for he notices their majesty and describes their beauty. Sometimes he paints it.

The burden of this book is the immense service of John C. Frémont in making known to the American people, and especially to their representatives in Washington, the trans-Mississippi territory and his assistance in winning it for his country. Before the report of his surveys was published there was in the public mind much vagueness concerning that boundless region and not a few absurd notions even in the minds of the best-informed members of Congress. The fame of Frémont, says the author, suffered from at least three causes, namely, jealousy aroused by his success, the extravagant praise of his friends, and the dislike of the pro-slavery element.

Before the courage of Frémont the "Great American Desert," whose existence was believed by even explorers of ability, like Pike and Long, disappeared forever. Of the baselessness of the Texan claim to New Mexico, Mr. Dellenbaugh is perfectly aware.

The author mentions the fact that in a burst of enthusiasm Frémont engraved on Independence Rock the symbol of Christianity. This was not strange, for the explorer's French father was a Catholic, though his mother was an Episcopalian. However, in the meridian splendor of the Know Nothing movement the Republicans nominated him for the Presidency, and in the election of 1856 the sign of the cross lost him many a vote. Not only was his father a member of the unpopular sect, but many of his early scientific friends were members of the same faith. On a visit to Fort Vancouver he had enjoyed the hospitality of Dr. McLaughlin, the Catholic head of the Hudson Bay Company's interests in the Northwest, and the American explorer testifies to the courtesy of his host, who afterward became a citizen of the United States and who cheerfully assisted Americans regardless of creed. It was in coming back from this expedition that Frémont turned southward, entering California and noting its importance. The head of a scientific party, he reconnoitred the lands of a neighboring nation. They were neither studying the theory of projectiles nor making experiments in sound, yet one of their instruments was a howitzer.

This volume makes plain the interest of Senator Benton, Frémont's father-in-law, and a few other statesmen in the mysterious lands to the West. They are constantly referred to as "the circle," and it is clear that they cherished a project of more than common magnitude.

A deserved tribute is paid to Johann August Sutter (Captain John A. Sutter), one of the most enterprising as well as one of the most unfortunate of the inhabitants of California during the middle of the nineteenth century. Heroes and cowards and criminals had enjoyed his feudal hospitality.

In 1846 Frémont was once more in California with a scientific party of sixty, of which every member was a sharpshooter. At a vacant ranch they rested, re-fitted, and waited for war which, from "the circle," Frémont knew was certain at any moment to break out between his country and Mexico. Soon after came the Republic of California with its "Bear Flag."

In this section is related Frémont's trouble with General Stephen W. Kearny and with Colonel Mason, for which he was subsequently court-martialed and sentenced to dismissal from the army, in which he was then (January 31, 1848) a Lieutenant-Colonel. But President Polk released him from arrest, remitted the sentence of dismissal, and ordered

him to resume his sword and report for duty. This order Frémont obeyed, but soon tendered his resignation. The treatment by the court-martial almost broke his iron will.

Afterward Frémont further devoted himself to work of exploration, but this was interrupted by his service as a Senator in Congress and by a bitter presidential contest in which, though he lost the election, he unified the inharmonious elements destined to make up the Republican party. On more than one occasion he was chastised by the slave power, and experienced the ingratitude of republics. Some small tokens of appreciation, indeed, he had known. At the good age of seventy-seven in New York State was ended his feverish career. Some surveys he had undertaken which were almost too much for human flesh, but on them he had for companions souls as intrepid as his own. Kit Carson and Fitzpatrick, two of the greatest names in frontier annals, had often shared his toils and his privations. In the journey of 1890 he was compelled to tread his pathless way alone.

Mr. Dellenbaugh is not writing an account of the California missions, though from time to time he alludes to that mighty work and sometimes in a manner almost complimentary. He has overlooked, however, the fact that in the region between San Diego and San Francisco the aborigines, when they became known to the Spaniards, were among the lowest specimens of the human race found anywhere on earth. From San Diego, he says (p. 32), "mission after mission was founded, the natives brought to prayer and song, albeit by the lash and the sword to a great extent, and the most unique era in the history of California was begun, eighteen establishments were soon in operation, before the opening of the nineteenth century in fact, while three others were later constructed. Gardens, vineyards, acres of green fields, thousands of head of sheep, cattle, and horses surrounded each settlement, and the wonderful fertility of the California soil was quickly demonstrated." Succeeding paragraphs notice the enterprise and courage of the priests. Again (p. 238), the author says: "Though religious in their conception, the Mission establishments prospered far more in a commercial, than in a spiritual way. Thousands of hides, immense quantities of tallow, grain, wool, and other produce, were annually disposed of to the great profit of the pious managers. . . ." The magnitude of the mission work is further illustrated by a quotation from Alfred Robinson, *Life in California*. This author speaks of the use of the lash, by which the Indians, he states, were forced "to the very doors of the sanctuary." Moreover, Mr. Robinson likens the mission, where he was hospitably entertained, to one of the working departments of a great prison. Mr. Dellenbaugh adds the contradictory touch, "Yet after Peyri [Reverend Antonio] finally

left, for years they placed candles and flowers before his picture and prayed for his return." Once more (p. 242), the author refers to the Indians, "who had escaped from the Missions, or had returned to the mountains when those establishments were broken up. No doubt they well remembered the Mass, and the lash which so often went with it." On page 334 is a different allusion to the Missions, which the author says "had grown very rich. They were thenceforward compelled to contribute heavily, and from about 1830 their actual decline was rapid. Their rich fields and gardens were regarded with covetous eyes by many an official, and by 1840 these unique communities, the glory of early California, were nearing their end: some already had reached it." For the purpose of contrast, for Mr. Dellenbaugh is an artist though not a literary one, he says: "Those delightful, dreamy days of the past; the life of the old Missions; the *padres*; the sound of vesper bells floating across tranquil fields—all were gone forever. No more would they loiter by the threshold chanting the soft Spanish airs to the accompaniment of the guitar; it was now 'Yankee Doodle' and 'the Devil take the hindmost.'"

Material results, the only things that appealed to the Forty-niners and their admirers, vanished in the presence of the Americans, but at a later day a keener observer saw things more enduring than the ownership of lands, of herds, or of flocks. During his sojourn at Monterey, Robert Louis Stevenson visited a ruined mission house on a hill overlooking the Carmel and in words that will outlast the wooden phrases of San Francisco lawyers or amateur explorers tells what he saw:

"Only one day in the year, the day before our Guy Fawkes, the *padre* drives over the hill from Monterey; the little sacristy, which is the only covered portion of the church, is filled with seats and decorated for the services; the Indians troop together, their bright dresses contrasting with their dark and melancholy faces; and there, among a crowd of somewhat unsympathetic holiday-makers, you may hear God served with perhaps more touching circumstances than in any other temple under heaven. An Indian, stone-blind and about eighty years of age, conducts the singing; other Indians compose the choir; yet they have the Gregorian music at their finger ends, and pronounce the Latin so correctly that I could follow the meaning as they sang. The pronunciation was odd and nasal, the singing hurried and staccato. 'In saecula saeculo-ho-horum,' they went with a vigorous aspirate to every additional syllable. I have never seen faces more vividly lit up with joy than the faces of these Indian singers. It was to them not only the worship of God, nor an act by which they recalled and commemorated better days, but was besides an exercise of culture, where

all they knew of art and letters was united and expressed. And it made a man's heart sorry for the good fathers of yore who had taught them to dig and to reap, to read and to sing, who had given them European mass-books which they still preserve and study in their cottages, and who had now passed away from all authority and influence in that land—to be succeeded by greedy land-thieves and sacrilegious pistol-shots. So ugly a thing may our Anglo-Saxon Protestantism appear beside the doings of the Society of Jesus." Here is no mention of the lash.

The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South. By Edgar Wallace Knight, Ph. D. New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1913. Pp. 100.

The author's first chapter describes, as established in North Carolina before the Civil War, a system of education more efficient than has been generally suspected, especially by Northern readers. The succeeding section considers the early school legislation of the Reconstruction era. In introducing this chapter the author refers to the appointment of W. W. Holden, provisional governor of North Carolina, as marking the beginning of the Executive Plan of Reconstruction. He is clearly thinking of President Johnson's attempt to carry out Lincoln's plan, of which one may perceive the beginnings in his appointment, March, 1862, of Andrew Johnson to the position of military governor of Tennessee. In the crowded and confused times following the death of Lincoln one would not seriously expect the rulers of the South, whether new or old, to accomplish much for education, though the subject was not entirely neglected by the legislature of North Carolina. Page 21 mentions General David E. Sickles instead of General *Daniel* E. Sickles. Slight progress was made under the Congressional system of Reconstruction. When, after 1876, North Carolina began to manage her own affairs there commenced an improvement in the provisions for education and particularly in the public interest taken in so important a matter.

The history of education in South Carolina from 1811-1865 is carefully considered. The author notices the improvement in the school system during the era of Reconstruction. While the greater part of his book is devoted to an outline of educational progress in the Carolinas, conditions in the other nine seceding States are summarized.

In the more ample studies on the era of Reconstruction other themes than education are likely to attract the chief attention of authors. Therefore a monograph like the present which clearly states the nature

of the school problems in the South and the hesitant measures designed for their solution is to be welcomed.

A History of the United States For Catholic Schools. By the Franciscan Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration, St. Rose Convent, La Crosse, Wisconsin. Chicago and New York: Scott, Foresman and Company. Copyright, 1914. Pp. 673.

Three short paragraphs relate the nautical achievements of the Northmen. The statements are sufficiently accurate, but there is included parenthetically the direction to read Longfellow's *Skeleton in Armor*. By all means let it be studied, not, however, as history but as poetry. The pupil will there learn of an elopement in an era when marriage was often by capture. Then follow four pertinent verses:

"There for my lady's bower
Built I the lofty tower,
Which, to this very hour,
Stands looking seaward."

The "Norse Tower" to which the poet refers was built not by a Viking old but by Governor Benedict Arnold, of Rhode Island. If these stanzas must be read, it should be as a study in literature.

The activity of the Franciscans in Cathay, a topic not unrelated to the project of Columbus, is passed over in silence. In early fifteenth century exploration the Portuguese surpassed all other nations. They had been taught navigation, however, by the Italians, who had sailed down the west coast of Africa two hundreds years before the captains of Prince Henry had left Cape St. Vincent. The voyage of Diaz, too, is misunderstood. That navigator had sailed far to the south of Africa; then, after a voyage to the eastward, he turned north. Finding himself on the southeast coast, he worked his way backward to the Cape of Good Hope, which he had passed by five hundred miles.

This volume contains the erroneous statement, often found in history text-books, and sometimes in works more ample, that Ferdinand and Isabella did not conclude to assist Columbus until after the fall of Granada. Yet from the first entry in his *Journal* we know that as an interested spectator he witnessed the surrender to the Spanish sovereigns of the keys of the Alhambra. The only hint as to the financing of the expedition, a very important matter, is an allusion to the time-honored legend of the jewels. There are several records showing that seven-eighths of the money for this purpose was advanced to the

crown of Castile by the treasurer of the *Santa Hermandad* (The Holy Brotherhood). The Pinzon brothers, it is true, rendered useful service, but they furnished no "means." The *Journal* kept by Columbus fails to mention any attempt, or even any thought of mutiny on the voyage of discovery. On the return from his first expedition Columbus was forced by stress of weather to enter the mouth of the Tagus. In other words, Portugal, because of this accident, learned of the discovery before Spain, which the text says he did not reach till March 15, 1493. In this section many errors are included in the space of a few pages. In short, this work ignores the results of contemporary research in the field of Columbian literature. The writings of Vignaud, Harrisse, and Thacher establish conclusions other than those found in our cherished school histories.

It is not clear why page 32 mentions Spain and Portugal as "the Catholic powers of Europe." As is well known, the Treaty of Tordesillas antedated the revolt of Luther; therefore except Turkey every nation of Europe was Catholic.

Being a more intricate topic than is generally supposed, this book should have entered into a detailed discussion of the destruction by Menendez of the French settlers on the St. John. Jacques de Sorie and Capdeville could have been mentioned. The bloody work of Menendez was subsequent to theirs.

The Spanish treatment of the aborigines is not historically presented. The good intentions of the Spanish government, indeed, are asserted, but the student is not told that it is only in Spanish America that Indians are numerous. Spanish exploration on the Atlantic coast was more considerable than the present volume would lead one to suppose. In treating of the "Spanish in America" mention is made of the founding in 1727 of the Ursuline convent in New Orleans. When, in 1608, Champlain founded Quebec, the French were already established at Port Royal. Quebec was not the first permanent settlement in Canada.

The story of Virginia, told in the traditional manner, makes a hero of John Smith. In our opinion the claims of that picturesque person should be proved before they are praised. New Jersey was not included in Calvert's grant as stated in the text. Delaware, of course, was; also that part of Pennsylvania below the fortieth parallel of north latitude.

Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, of Machias, Maine, the earliest naval hero of the Revolution, is mentioned among the Catholics who fought for American independence. It is certain that his parents were Irish Catholics, but when a plan was adopted for detailing a British officer, it fell to the lot of John O'Brien, a brother of the Captain, whose pew

was just behind the seat assigned the Englishman, to seize him. The five O'Briens were gallant seamen, but the incident mentioned connects them with a Machias meeting house. One of their descendants, Reverend Andrew M. Sherman, of Morristown, New Jersey, is a minister of the Presbyterian church. He has written an interesting monograph on that distinguished Irish-Yankee family. From names alone one can not always infer creeds. Perhaps it would be more correct to state that many of the Pennsylvania line were Catholics. Though the organization was Irish, the majority must have been Presbyterians.

From the errors noticed it is clear that the first part of this work was compiled from existing text-books on the history of the United States or from books that have long been superseded. The greater part of the volume is a rather full and accurate narrative of events following the alleged services of John Smith. It is a large book and in that respect marks an improvement on the thin histories generally put into the hands of Catholic and other children. Though there are occasional inaccuracies of statement, which have not been specified, a pupil familiar with the contents of this work will possess a good outline of the elements of American history. On topics of special interest to Catholics it is more ample than the text-books that have preceded it and to that extent is better.

Perhaps the principles of political parties and their respective achievements would have been better set forth if the volume had not been broken into sections by successive administrations. There was, for example, a unity in Federalist policy; likewise in that of the Jeffersonian Republicans, and there was an era of Jacksonian ascendency with characteristics of its own. The Republican party that we know has always favored a strong government, a loose construction of the Constitution, and a protective tariff. The Presidents chosen by that organization, indeed, have not held identical opinions, but every one of them has been sharply distinguished from the Democratic Presidents before as well as since the Civil War.

The Winning of the Far West, 1829-1867. By Robert McNutt McElroy, Ph. D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press, 1914. Pp. 384 with maps.

Written at the request of its publishers this volume is designed "to constitute a continuation of Colonel Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*." The author hints at his theme, but before clearly stating it takes time to record an estimate of some of the characters who performed

services in that expansion which is the subject of his book. "Back of the gallant figures of Scott and Zachary Taylor," says Dr. McElroy, "must always stand, in the history of that memorable struggle, the still more heroic figures of Sam Houston and his great friend and political patron, Andrew Jackson." All readers of the history of Texas or of the War with Mexico will not readily admit that in stature Sam Houston more nearly resembled the elder gods than either General Scott or General Taylor. However, for the present this matter may be set aside for later examinations. It is noticed at this point merely to suggest that the opinions of the author should be carefully considered. Nevertheless, as he writes with the benefits of much unpublished material his appraisement of even familiar public characters may be of use to those who are ever in search of the latest information. For the moment, therefore, we may characterize Houston in the language of Jackson as one "made by the Almighty, and not by a tailor."

The events leading to the battle of San Jacinto are concisely related and the account of that engagement so managed as to make a hero of Houston. The story has been rhetorically told by Benton. As given by Garrison in his history of Texas, a commonwealth in which General Houston should be universally honored, one gets the impression that the commander-in-chief was forced to fight his greatest victory at the point of the pistol. Dr. McElroy should have told us whether Houston actually had greatness thrust upon him.

Hitherto it has been suspected that, unknown to the public, Jackson felt a mild interest in the annexation of Texas. The present volume demonstrates that his desire to acquire it was the master passion of his eager soul. Fortune, which by turns had frowned and smiled upon the Hero of New Orleans, at last withheld from him a knowledge of the perfect success of his well laid plans, for when Sam Houston arrived in Nashville to relate to Jackson the joyful tidings of the annexation of Texas, death was already sealing up his eyes. Houston arrived at The Hermitage half an hour too late.

The acquisition of Oregon is carefully though not fully related. "The Whitman Legend" is not made the subject of a separate examination. One might venture to state that concerning the Reverend Marcus Whitman the last word has not been said. A little research in the city of Washington would be certain to reveal new phases of the character of that missionary. An examination of this subject, however, is not essential to the plan of the author.

The section on the dismemberment of Mexico and the resulting accession of the Southwest, which forms a large part of this volume, is a good piece of condensed historical writing. In fact, for compression

and completeness it is difficult to equal it. Probably many readers who have inquired minutely into the trouble with Mexico will regret that the narrative does not include a thorough examination of the American claims against her as well as a statement of their unique place in the raw materials of diplomacy. It is true that this would have introduced into serious history an element of comedy, but such is the texture of life, and if we are not in gross error an impartial description of the claims presented against the sister Republic would excel almost any specimen of grotesque art. In our opinion this is the chief deficiency in a useful and scholarly work. To omit so important a matter as that ever growing list of grievances and to say nothing of their adroit manipulation is to impart to the sober countenance of history a sort of holiday cast. One does not need to pluck his judgment from the verses of the poet, for there are other witnesses besides Hosea Bigelow. The claims are given in Hubert Howe Bancroft and though that author has been convicted of offences more than venial, he has not yet been accused of reshaping diplomatic papers.

The section which treats of the Compromise of 1850 is sufficiently complete, and, like the entire book, written in a style at once clear and entertaining. The Gadsden purchase is also noticed. An account of the acquisition of Alaska completes the volume.

Ten fine maps and topographical plans add much to the value of Dr. McElroy's book, of which one of the chief merits is that it assembles in a single handy volume a number of topics which heretofore have been overtaken by only industrious readers who have found the materials far apart. Leaving out of account Louisiana and Florida the reader who desires to gain a firm grasp of our territorial growth will not be disappointed if he begin his readings with *The Winning of the Far West.*

A History of Emigration From the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912. By Stanley C. Johnson, M. A. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1914. Pp. 387.

This monograph, a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Science in Economics by the University of London, may be fairly classified as belonging to what De Quincey would call the literature of knowledge. It treats in a severely scientific manner a definite subject. The author's preliminary survey of the eventful period between the Treaty of Paris and the eve of the world wide war of 1914 supports the claim of American historians as to the extent of the Ulster emigra-

tion to the United States. In the five years from 1769-1774 there sailed to the Atlantic seaboard from five Irish ports (Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Larne and Portrush) 43,720 persons. Under the plan of Dr. Johnson the earlier emigrations have not been mentioned, though the Irish exodus began long before 1769. In the same period Scotland sent a still greater number. In that era fewer came to America from England and Wales. The author states that settlers came from all parts of Ireland and from the Scottish highlands. The latter were forced from their ancient homes by the policy of the rich grasiers who then were turning their farms into pastures. Apparently the contest was one between men and kine. Prince Edward Island was divided amongst sixty-seven proprietors, chiefly Scots, on condition that they would settle European Protestants or British Americans on their domain. The condition appears to have been ignored, for the proprietors stocked their lands with Highlanders who for the most part were Catholics. About the same time some Yorkshire Methodists arrived in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It was then that other Highlanders left their new homes in the Mohawk valley and finally settled at Glengarry, which they named in honor of their old stronghold in Inverness. Other American Loyalists or Tories poured into Canada by tens of thousands. When Clinton abandoned Philadelphia, that city alone sent three thousand Loyalists to Canada. Virginia and New York, too, sent their quotas. The American Tories seem to have been responsible for the early westward expansion of Canada. In 1785 there arrived at Quebec a party of more than five hundred, the people of an entire Scottish parish with their priest, Reverend Alexander Macdonell Scotus. Other companies of Highlanders, including Camerons of Lochiel, arrived within the next decade. Lord Selkirk and Colonel Talbot were instrumental in sending to the Dominion hundreds of settlers. An impetus was given to emigration from England by the return of peace after the defeat of Napoleon.

The chief cause of emigration was the remarkable increase of population, in the United Kingdom, a phenomenon which affected social affairs in a multitude of ways. As early as 1823 there were congested districts in Munster and by 1838 many are noticed in the north of Ireland. A few years before (1832) overlords cleared off their English estates all people likely to seek relief. At that time thousands were ejected from their homes and their houses razed to the ground. Those thus cast adrift entered the "open villages," which in a little while became congested. The records declare that the merciful landlord is no new type, but is as ancient as the hills. Lord Middleton, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and other Irish landlords are mentioned as having ex-

pended some pounds in assisting those who desired to emigrate. This was an incident in the movement for consolidation.

Besides the desire for green fields and pastures new, which sent so many people from Scotland, and the operation of the principle of consolidation, which assisted so many to leave Ireland, in 1833 England was troubled by agricultural depression and Scotland disturbed by the ruin of the kelp industry. Collectively these influences sent multitudes to America. Of course, the most tragic of all was the Irish famine of 1847, when the British government manifested great apathy and the Society of Friends great humanity. Let this awful page of history be buried in oblivion. Dr. Johnson's scientific treatment does not even suggest the extent of that catastrophe. His monograph merely gives the arithmetic of the matter, but only the recording angel can collect the statistics of want and despair.

Inventions, too, which have freed men from drudgery have oftentimes through all their days likewise freed them from toil. In Yorkshire 15,000, in Lancashire 90,000 and in Oldham half the population were without work and without hope. When introduced, the power-loom, the spinning jenny, and the "mule" wrecked more homes than even the wars against Napoleon. For those displaced by labor-saving machinery there was no alternative but starvation or emigration.

An interesting section treats of assisted and unassisted emigration as well as the iniquitous system that brought "redemptioners" to America. Much has been written of the horrors of "the middle passage," when the merchandise in negroes was at its meridian, but the voyage from the Guinea coast to the United States could never have been more cheerless for the captive than the emigrant ship for its homeless wanderers, who were often kicked, and cursed, and cuffed by some brutish mate.

Other topics touched in this useful volume are the reception of immigrants, their destination, the land systems, and colonization schemes. In discussing the destination of the emigrants it is pointed out that the Irish preferred the United States to the British colonies, though great numbers settled in Australia, in New Zealand and in Canada.

In his estimate of the social and economic value of emigration and immigration the author, after quoting statistics concerning foreigners generally, parenthetically singles out the Irishman for a sinister compliment. "With respect to illiteracy," he asserts, "the various Census Reports tell the same tale: the foreigner, frequently the Irishman, is the great offender." This conclusion appears to be based upon a statement of Bryce to the effect that three-fifths of the aliens in New York are unable to read. Even a brief sojourn in that city would convince

Dr. Johnson that in the great American metropolis not all the aliens are Irish. If he will take the trouble to compare the different editions of *The American Commonwealth*, he will find that in the latest Mr. Bryce has silently omitted nearly all the uncomplimentary allusions to the Irish. Of these omissions the publicist's preface says nothing.

The author states that the Irish vote in the United States "favors a policy of antagonism to Great Britain." The implication is that concerning American affairs all Irishmen step to the same sound. A knowledge derived from observation, and not from books, would probably convince the author that among the Irish in America there are discrepant opinions. The German vote, on the other hand, is not influenced by hatred of Great Britain but by "liquor questions." In explanation he states that "these matters are made possible by the fact that in several states the immigrant is admitted to citizenship after a single year's residence, while he is still ignorant of the laws, language, and customs, and before he has had time to appreciate the honored institutions of the land which receives him." The German, it is true, may by certain states be given the *suffrage* after one year's residence, but he cannot acquire United States *citizenship* before the expiration of five years. By that time he generally knows something of American institutions. Moreover, it is hardly scientific to hold that all German dreams are mixed with drink.

A single paragraph mentions Catholic colonization in Minnesota during 1880, a movement which Archbishop Ireland encouraged, and in 1881, when it was assisted by Mr. Sweetman. The first is described as a partial success, the second as a failure.

The subject outlined by Mr. Johnson is too vast and too intricate to be treated in a single volume. However, he has mentioned many of its principal phases and brought together much valuable information. The monograph makes it plain that work of genuine worth is done at the University of London.

The Development of American Nationality. By Carl Russell Fish. New York and Chicago: The American Book Company. Copyright, 1913. Pp. 535 + Index and maps.

This volume forms the second part of *A Short History of the American People* and treats of the principal events between the year 1783 and the election of Woodrow Wilson. In stating the causes of the war of 1812 nothing is said of President Madison's conviction that there existed grounds for war with France, though none was declared,

yet such action was recommended against England. There is, it is true, no perfect proof that Madison recommended a declaration of war against Great Britain on condition that the "War Hawks" would procure him a renomination for the Presidency, but the charge is often made and Madison's public integrity does not justify one in passing it over without observation.

In mentioning the naval victory on Lake Champlain, for some reasons the most important known to the American commissioners at Ghent, the successes of General Macomb at the town of Plattsburg and the fords of the Saranac are unnoticed. Again in describing the cause of the Mexican War the American claims are merely mentioned. Both their increase in number, from time to time, and their management should have been examined. Perhaps it would have added to the undoubted value of the volume if Jackson's keen interest in the acquisition of Texas had been slightly emphasized.

In our opinion the author's treatment of emancipation would have been somewhat improved if a paragraph had been devoted to Lincoln's offer to the Border States of emancipation of slaves with compensation to the owners. It immediately preceded his consideration of the principle of military emancipation and was an important part of his policy to detach the Border States from the lower South.

Professor Fish has succeeded in preparing an excellent outline of American history from the date of the formal acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. He emphasizes nothing that is unimportant; his sense of proportion is admirable, and his style, always clear and interesting, is beyond rational criticism. On the whole he has produced a book that is both readable and accurate.

Seven Years on the Pacific Slope. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1914. Pp. 391. Price $3.00.

The best part of this book is the cover. It will look well on the shelves. But the title is misleading. It should be labeled "Small Talk from the Kitchen, Barnyard, Roadside, and Postoffice Porch in the Jargon of Country Folks anywhere between Maine and California, Interspersed with Occasional Profanity." Such a title would be long, but it would express truthfully the contents of this pretentious volume. Near the close of the book a wedding is suddenly introduced. The groom appears to be a white pagan, and the bride would seem to be but little more. There is no reverence whatsoever. Yet Matrimony is a Sacrament. Nevertheless, there is a "Marriage Mass" at which "the

murmuring quiet was rent asunder by a voice from the altar, and the bridegroom grasped at the altar rail for support, while the congregation rustled its amazement behind him. Father Luyten was intoning [*sic*] the *Kyrie Eleison!* He was a little out of practise, but he was not out of heart; he stood with his feet planted steadily, his head thrown back and his chest out, emitting an enormous volume of sound that tore through the little building until the last word of it whirled out of doors, and Father Luyten shook out his elbows like a man who has done his duty well!" No comment on this is needed. Equally well informed, as on the Catholic Ritual, the authoress proves to be on the history of the State of Washington of which we imagined this book to be a description; for Washington, it is asserted on the first page, has "the honor of being the twenty-ninth of the now existing forty-five States of the Union." Many more than twenty-eight States preceded Washington, which was not admitted until 1889.

The California Padres and Their Missions. By Charles Francis Saunders and J. Smeaton Chase. Illustrated. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1915. Pp. 417. Price $2.50.

There should be a sub-title to this attractive volume: "Tales about the Missions." That would at once put the reader on his guard; for the book is not a history. It is an entertaining and, at times, a touching narrative of the impressions received during a visit to the ever-memorable twenty-one Missions of California. To this are added, along with the correctly given dates of mission founding, various stories supposed to have occurred in connection with the respective locality.

The authors frequently acknowledge themselves Protestants and confess that much of their narrative is fiction. Nevertheless, readers who are unacquainted with the situation and with the history of the Missions, will scarcely be able to distinguish what is fact from what is fiction. To quote unfavorable stories about the Padres on the authority of persons who are bitterly hostile to them, would seem to be proceeding on the principle: *quod volumus, credimus libenter.* If it be not true, it may be true; therefore state it to be true. Catholics, at all events, cannot draw such a conclusion. We have in mind the statements made on the authority of that inveterate prevaricator Mariano Vallejo and of the bibulous Juan B. Alvarado. The authors lack a clear conception of what Mission secularization meant under Spanish and Mexican laws and what it was in the eyes of the Mission despoilers in California. Mexico had nothing to do with the confiscation (such

it was in California) of the Missions, which the so-called Californians executed to their own disgrace and to the ruin of the poor Indians. Among the chief culprits were Vallejo and Alvarado, who accordingly have little good to say about the missionaries. The authors are also under the wrong impression, often refuted, that the missionaries refused the oath of allegiance to the republic of Mexico because they were monarchists. Such was not the reason. Would the authors themselves at any time have thought fit to swear allegiance in California to the mis-called republic of Mexico? Nevertheless, to show their loyalty, Father Narciso Durán and his friars ten years later offered to swear allegiance to the republic of Mexico as soon as they learned that Spain had acknowledged the republic, such as it was.

Finally, the authors appear to believe in the saying, "Where there is much smoke, there must be some fire." Possibly; but they should be careful not to mistake swamp vapor for smoke. Hence the implied assertion that the Padres, or some of them, were not entirely in love with Lady Poverty. Documentary evidence runs the other way. Every one of the Franciscan Friars, from Father Junipero Serra to Father Francisco Sánchez, the Father Salvadiera of Helen Hunt Jackson, lived and died poor. Not a single one claimed anything for himself or for his Order. Whatever was accumulated while they were in charge of the Mission temporalities, and whatever was donated to them under any title whatsoever, belonged to the Indian converts, and was used or disbursed for the benefit of the Indian community.

The Spanish Dependencies in South America. An introduction to the history of their civilization. By Bernard Moses, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor in the University of California, Honorary Professor in the University of Chile. 2 vols. New York and London: Harper Brothers, 1914.

In the last few years, South America has attracted ever-increasing notice in our country, a notice that has been fostered by that admirable institution, known at first as the Bureau of American Republics, and now as the Pan-American Union. The lands of South America have been alluded to as the "Lands of Opportunity." We have been told of their unlimited resources and of the splendid possibilities of an increasing commerce between them and ourselves. The minds of our practical and business-like fellow countrymen are turning, more and more, to South America, just as South Americans are beginning to turn toward us. It is refreshing, however, to note that the awakened interest in South America is not altogether an exclusively commercial

one. A desire to know more of the history of the lands to the South of us naturally follows our closer relations. Such a desire is amply satisfied by the two splendid volumes before me. In these, Professor Moses has given us a bird's-eye view of the past of our Southern Republics from Panama southward, at the period when they were colonies of Spain. The work makes most interesting and instructive reading, and it may be regarded as a mine of information, in history, politics, sociology, and pedagogy, for the entire colonial period of Spanish South America. Not the least useful feature of the work is to be found in the numerous footnotes, which offer to the reader, acquainted with the Spanish language, an extensive bibliography of the subject. To cover the immense field chosen for his study, the author was obliged to accomplish a most extensive reading, and his work bears evidence of having thoroughly mastered his subject. Though he does not appear to have access to manuscript materials, nor can it be said that he has given anything new to the scholar, his extensive reading of works on America, old and new, has enabled him to offer to the public a popular work of the first order. No student of Spanish American history can fail to come into contact with the Church's activity, especially in these countries where the ecclesiastical and civil authority were so closely interdependent. In the lands, colonized by Spain, we Catholics have much to glory in, but we have also much to be ashamed of. The honest historian, Catholic or Protestant, will not hesitate to give us the unvarnished facts. So long as a historian contents himself with facts, we have no complaint to find with him; but, when he proceeds to draw his own conclusions, be he a Prescott, or a Gregorovius or a Rohrbacher, we are at liberty to take issue with him.

Professor Moses has tried to be fair, as his praise of the work of the Jesuits shows. He has never distorted facts, but a bias, almost inevitable in a non-Catholic, appears time and again in his reflections and conclusions.

We are not in particular sympathy with the Spanish Inquisition, either in Spain or America, and we recognize its abuses; yet, we must say, that the author has exaggerated it when he calls it: "The most diabolical of all human institutions" (Vol. I, p. 349). With the exception of one or two insinuations, we may endorse what he writes of St. Rose de Lima and St. Peter Claver (Vol. II, pp. 66-98), but we cannot agree with his opinion concerning the disagreement between the Synod of the New Granada and the *encomenderos,* and the "undue assumption of authority" by the former (Vol. I, p. 284). Leaving aside these and a few similar instances, we welcome the work of Professor Moses as a valuable addition to our popular literature on South America.

Some Roads to Rome in America. Compiled and edited by Georgina Pell Curtis. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. Second Edition, 1910. Pp. xi + 532. $1.75.

Beyond the Road to Rome. By the same Editor. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1914. Pp. 440. $1.75.

In these two volumes Miss Curtis has compiled one hundred and ten accounts of prominent men and women who describe the mental and spiritual struggle, which led them to accept the teaching of the Catholic Church and submit to its authority, and who give expression to their experiences within its fold. The compilation is both interesting and instructive, presenting, as it does, the difficulties of those persons who have been brought up in the various sects of Christianity, in Judaism and in unbelief, and showing the religious problem in America and its numerous aspects by exhibiting the mental attitude towards religion in general and Catholicism in particular of people in various surroundings and walks in life.

It is to be remarked, however, that almost without exception, the contributions are given by persons belonging to the more intellectual and cultured classes. To draw, therefore, from these accounts some general conclusions regarding the causes of conversion to the Catholic Faith peculiar to Americans might be misleading indeed, unless such conclusions be referred rather exclusively to the classes of people mentioned. For it is necessary to the intellectually developed and cultured man and woman that channels of appeal should open themselves which are closed to an individual of more mediocre intellectual standards. Yet, some conclusions referring to character, rather than to mental ability, might be extended to concern the American people as a whole.

It will be seen, then, from an analysis of Miss Curtis' two works, that it is a most difficult task to determine precisely what is peculiar to the American in this regard. Blood is thicker than water, and even those Americans, who can claim descent from the earliest settlers of this continent, still retain characteristics peculiar to the various races of their origin. But with these particular characteristics retained in a higher or lower degree, the native-born American has acquired a goodly portion of an idealism which is happily coupled with a love of the practical and with the speculative side rather undeveloped. This constitution of mind invariably drives him to search, at least in serious matters, after the ideal; and the ideal once having been found, to reduce it to practice. It cannot be denied that this idealism at times is so strong that is overrules the practical. With it follows a good deal of optimism; an optimism which gives vigor and urges the individual to

an energetic pursuit of his aims without too much hesitation before obstacles. On the other hand, the American is lacking in keenly critical sense—a result, no doubt, of his above-named characteristics.

That such a constitution of character should play an important rôle in questions religious in America is a matter beyond dispute. The human heart by nature tends to the supernatural, to some relation with God, and to Religion; and in an idealistic mind, the yearning for the supernatural is necessarily strong and pronounced. For this reason, in the American people, at least among the classes of higher intellectual development and training, wherever intellectual pride and self-idolatry have not placed an obstacle, there will be found a strong interest in religious matters. In general, it seems safe to say that this yearning is easily satisfied, for optimism paired with insufficient critical acumen finds its ideal with comparative ease, and, if the ideal does not stand the test of time, it turns with equal ease to another. The result of such a condition, of course, is religious unrest coupled with a proneness to accept whatever is "new" for the day in the field of Religion.

Thus far the American mind is open to religious inquiry. And, needless to say, this is a prerequisite for conversion to the Faith. On the other hand, this highly idealistic but less critical mind is easily prejudiced. It necessarily experiences a keen aversion for whatever would seem to be opposed to the ideal and particularly to its ideals, and it easily accepts as facts whatsoever is presented by apparent authorities. Here let us add that the democratic American is exceedingly fond of tradition. In this respect he is a hopeless aristocrat. It has been easy for the opponents of the Church to portray her in unfavorable colors and thus to create against her a dislike and a distrust which, coupled with traditionally inherited Protestant misconceptions, have come to form an almost national prejudice against the Catholic Church. The most unreasonable prejudices are to be found among those brought up in the various Calvinist and Lutheran sects; whereas the prejudices found especially among High Anglicans and Unitarians are far less vigorous and are not opposed to good common sense. The tenacity of such prejudices is best shown in the account of a convert of long experience in the Church and in the Priesthood, who still holds that the majority of names in the Catholic Directory are "foreign," because they are not English.

It is striking that with so many converts-to-be the lack of authority within Protestantism should be the cause of their first step towards Rome. Here, certainly, the practical side of the American mind is at work. Salvation is a serious business, and certitude in matters pertaining to salvation is of vital importance. But where authority is

lacking, this certainty cannot be reached; hence the troubled soul goes in quest of authority, and although the road often leads through Anglicanism, real authority can be found only in the Catholic Church. Again, as these pages of Miss Curtis' volumes show, this very lack of authority in Protestantism is the cause of the rapid changes of dogmatic position within its various sects; and this fact, in its turn, has caused doubts as to whether a system allowing so momentous changes could be a true system of revealed Religion. Transferred into human government, as some reason, the Protestant system certainly would amount to nothing but anarchy. In many cases, as the writers in these volumes confess, the lack of an historical basis of Protestantism is a leading cause of conversion. The search for historic Christianity easily leads to the acceptance of the higher forms of Anglicanism, but the step from Ritualism to Catholicism invariably offers more serious difficulties. The Branch Theory seems very plausible to the inquirer, and on this point a certain lack of critical acumen of the American mind makes itself manifest.

Among the many things in Catholicism which exert a drawing towards the Catholic religion in the United States, the attractiveness and beauty of Catholic worship seems to be among the more general. The liturgy of the Church, as shown in correctly performed functions, invariably deeply impresses the spectator even though he may not have a complete grasp of its meaning. Well-performed ceremonies and the Gregorian chant cannot but make a strong appeal to a mind with a sense for beauty. Gothic architecture and good art in vestments and decorations intensifies this effect on the cultured American mind.

It is needless to add that the example of Catholics has led many on their road to Rome. And it is interesting to note the many cases in which the Irish servant-maid has been instrumental in giving this example; truly, her apostolic work in this country is worthy of consideration. The strong influence of the Blessed Sacrament on those who may have fully ignored Its presence is another cause of conversion. A large number of accounts record the attractiveness of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament; and the Real Presence in the Tabernacle is mentioned frequently as a reason for the change of heart. Catholic literature, of course, can claim its large share in the work of bringing about conversions. The works of Cardinals Newman and Gibbons, of Brownson, Faber and Maturin, Moehler's "Symbolism," Hecker's "Questions of the Soul," Lammenais' "Essai sur l'Indifference," the "Imitation of Christ," and the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius Loyola, are all mentioned as having been greatly helpful to the various inquirers. Others have been benefitted by the reading of St. Augustine

and of Eusebius and other sources of Church History through which they have come to a realization of the truth of the claims of the Catholic Church. Again, private reading of the Bible, especially of St. Paul and of the texts referring to the Primacy of St. Peter, to the Office of the Holy Ghost and to the Real Presence, has brought the truth forcefully to many minds.

Finally, there might be mentioned among the causes of conversion the religious devotions in the Anglican Church. In many cases, also, calumny against the Church and the priesthood have had a reactionary effect. The Know-Nothing movement was regarded with contempt by many intelligent Protestants, and the fact that Protestants not infrequently argued their cause by attacking Catholicism while Catholics explained dogmas, and refuted slander but did not attack their opponents, has contributed to open the eyes of many fair-minded inquirers.

Miss Curtis' two books ought to recommend themselves to Catholics and non-Catholics alike, offering as they do much material for meditation and reflection. Certainly they will be most welcome and valuable to the clergy interested and concerned in the work of bringing stray sheep into the true fold.

A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850. By Logan Esarey, Ph. D. Indianapolis: L. K. Stewart Co., 1915. Pp. 515.

Few persons in Indiana are better equipped to write a history of Indiana than Dr. Logan Esarey, Instructor in Western History in Indiana University, and editor-in-chief of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. In this State, as in so many others of the Union, the materials for history are only now being gathered together. We can therefore appreciate the labors necessary to write a historical narrative like this, critically correct. In his work, Dr. Esarey has succeeded admirably well in spite of the fact that serious obstacles presented themselves at every turn. From the first page of the book to the last, the interest of the reader is sustained. The opening chapter, dealing with the activities of the French in Indiana, presents many revelations to the student of history. In his researches on this early period Dr. Esarey depended to a large extent upon facts drawn from the *Jesuit Relations*, and he has interpreted and marshalled his data in a convincing and scholarly manner. When we writes about Clark's conquest and Pierre Gibault's part in the winning of the West, he tells the story very succinctly, perhaps too much so. In justice to the patriot-priest, he should have given him most of the credit. John Law, in his Address on *Vincennes*, says, "Next

to Clark and Vigo, the United States are indebted more to Father Gibault for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original Northwest Territory than to any other man." The first place of honor is undoubtedly due to Father Gibault. It was more through his energy and influence than to any other man that the happy results of the conquest were accomplished. It is well known that the original aim of Clark's campaign contemplated no more than the capture of Kaskaskia. His instructions and commission from Patrick Henry, the Governor of Virginia, were to that effect. In the first place, the men and supplies furnished to George Rogers Clark by the State of Virginia were insufficient. His forces, too small to accomplish the task set before them, were still further reduced, on its way to Kaskaskia by desertions, so that the ultimate success of the expedition became questionable. It was due almost exclusively to Father Gibault that Kaskaskia was captured without the shedding of blood. This place was at that time the strongest and most populous of the Illinois settlements and possessed a strong and well-armed force for defense. The impoverished army was comparatively weak and unable to cope in the open field against the superior force of the Kaskaskians. When Clark's presence first became known to the inhabitants they determined to give him battle. Only after Father Gibault had learned Clark's purposes and intentions did the people permit him to enter. Clark's reply to Gibault was the key that opened the gate of Kaskaskia to him without opposition. The priest had been for more than ten years the pastor there, and was known and beloved by the people. This whole statement is in perfect accord with Clark's own story of the events that transpired in July, 1778.

The mission as far as Governor Henry of Virginia was concerned, was now accomplished; but Father Gibault urged Clark to press onward to capture Fort Sackville at Vincennes, and even furnished him with means and the guidance necessary for the expedition. Vincennes was the key to the possession of the whole Northwest. Clark hesitated, but Father Gibault promised to furnish the men. He supplied two companies of Illinois troops, all Catholics and members of his church. One company was under the command of McCay and the other was under the command of Charleville. It was Father Gibault who enlisted Francis Vigo, an Italian trader at St. Louis in the expedition. He was at that time a devout Catholic and a member of Father Gibault's flock. Vigo furnished some means for carrying the expedition into effect. The patriot-priest planned the entire route to Vincennes, for we must remember that Clark was a stranger in a strange land and needed guidance. When his soldiers arrived at their destination, they were famished with hunger and much fatigued by wading through the flooded

fields on the Wabash. Gibault had made provision for supplying all their bodily needs and even horses had been obtained for the men. He knew accurately the strength of the garrison and the scarcity of munitions at the fort, and advised Clark to act quickly. Three-fourths of the force which took part in the attack on Fort Sackville were Catholics and parishioners of Father Gibault. Thus it was that the patriot-priest and hero planned and accomplished the surrender of Sackville and secured for the United States the entire Northwest.

These details have been supplied because Gibault has not received due honor and appreciation for his work. Dr. Esarey ought to have stated that, without the influence and exertions of this noble priest, Clark's efforts would have been in vain.

Much attention is given by the author to the labors of Isaac McCoy, a Baptist preacher of Maria Creek church in Knox county. The historian, on the other hand, has not said a word about the work of Father Stephen Theodore Badin, proto-priest of America, who also labored among the Pottawattomies and Miamis, and was in fact at Carey Mission when it was abandoned by McCoy. The incident surrounding the murder of Chief Nonankoy by Topinabee, chief of the whole tribe of the Pottawattomies, as told by Father Badin in his memoirs, and the address delivered by him on that occasion, which prevented an internecine struggle that would have exterminated the whole tribe, are also matters worthy of record.

Aside from these omissions in Dr. Esarey's *History of Indiana,* the work bears the stamp of true scholarship. The scope of the book, embracing as it does the political, social and economic developments in the State, forbade a larger space to religious and educational history. The author's method of treatment is topical, and hence this book ought to form a convenient reference work for the student of American History.

Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765. By Clarence P. Gould, Ph. D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. Pp. 176.

In reviewing the monetary history of Maryland, Professor Gould writes: "If in 1760 an agreement had been made calling for the payment of 'one pound' without further specification, the obligation might have been met by paying any one of no less than seven different pounds:—the pound in goods at their sterling cost in England, the pound in sterling exchange, the pound sterling, the pound proclamation money, the pound running money, the pound paper, and the pound of

tobacco. All these meanings of the word were in daily use, and it would require but a very slightly unusual use to include also a pound of hemp, flax, pork or beef." After reading this we are prepared for the further statement that at that time "the great monetary problems remained unsolved."

The balance of trade between Great Britain and the British colonies in America was against the colonies and this explains the fact that there was little English coin in the colonies. But the colonies had a balance of trade against the West Indies and received most of their specie from this source. The coin which Maryland received directly from England either came in the pockets of immigrants or was obtained from fees which had to be paid in specie by incoming ships. An Act was passed in 1661 providing for a mint in Maryland, but little coin came from this source.

Coins of almost all nationalities circulated in Maryland, but the most numerous were those of Spain, Portugal, France, and some of the German states. The Spanish dollar was the best known coin. This circulated in several varieties and values. It was divided into four pesetas or eight reals. The peseta was called by the English colonists a pistareen and the real a bit. Thus two bits amounted to a quarter even in colonial slang.

The coinage of the colony was in bad condition from wear and tear, from dishonest clipping and from cutting the coins to make change. If a man had a payment of a quarter of a dollar to make and had nothing smaller than a dollar with which to make it, he would cut off a fourth of his dollar and hand it to his creditor. But sometimes dishonest persons after cutting off what looked like two half-dollars had an appreciable fraction of the coin left.

The colonsts did their reckoning in pounds, shillings and pence; but the money which they handled was in dollars, pistoles, etc. A dollar was worth four and a half shillings in sterling money, but the practice grew up of accepting it as valued at six shillings. In other words it was "overvalued." It was worth no more and no less than before. What happened was that the value of the shilling depreciated,—not the shilling-sterling but the shilling-of-account. The principal damage done by this depreciation was the separating of the shilling-of-account from the shilling-sterling and the consequent introduction of confusion in the monetary system. Professor Gould writes unguardedly when he describes this situation as showing "a constant tendency to receive coin at rates above its intrinsic value." He seems also not to understand the true inwardness of the situation when he says that "such a procedure is possible only in a community where the money is not in the same

denominations as the standard of value used by the greater number of the people." Jevons, writing in 1875, said: "The rates of foreign exchange between the United States and England were, until last year, quoted in terms of a dollar valued at 4s. 6d. in accordance with a law of 1789." Here is a dollar of account which is "overvalued" in terms of the standard dollar.

In 1704, upon the petition of Maryland, Queen Anne issued a proclamation commanding that no foreign silver should be circulated at a rate which would imply a nominal overvaluation in excess of 33⅓%. The silver dollar which was worth 4s. 6d. sterling now had its value established at 6s. "currency." In other words 4 shillings and six pence sterling became 6 shillings "currency." In 1733, the first paper money was issued in Maryland. This was issued in denominations of the pound currency and not of the pound sterling. Soon the paper money deteriorated in value. But paper money was legal tender for currency debts and so the term "currency" became attached to the paper money and a new name was needed for the old currency money. This now became known as proclamation money, or gold and silver. In 1747, it was permitted to pay the fees of public officials in Maryland in paper money as well as in tobacco. In 1753, it was desired to make these payments of fees in coin as well as in paper and tobacco. The legislature, for the purpose of cutting down the fees, arbitrarily overrated the coin in terms of paper when it provided that the fees might be paid in coin. This set up a new standard of money which was called common or running money. It is small wonder that persons who were trying to strike a bargain often found as much difficulty in arriving at the value of the money as in agreeing upon the value of the commodity. When the Maryland planters shipped their crop to England, they drew bills of exchange on the merchants to whom they sent it, and these bills of exchange were passed from hand to hand in the payment of debts and thus served as money. They also found a ready market in Pennsylvania, whose merchants imported heavily from England. In this way a considerable amount of coin was brought from Pennsylvania to Maryland. There is an entertaining chapter in Dr. Gould's volume on tobacco currency in which tobacco is judged according to the economist's standards of a desirable money, and, on the whole, found wanting. Small transactions were settled usually in coin, and tobacco was used as a general thing only for paying larger amounts. This tobacco did not circulate but in its stead warehouse receipts were transferred in one form or another between merchants. The final chapter discusses means of transportation and communication in colonial Maryland. The whole study is a valuable contribution to colonial economic history.

The Financial Administration of the Colony of Virginia. By Percy Scott Flippin, Ph. D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. Pp. 95.

The controversy between the American colonists and Great Britain which culminated in the Revolution had its origin in what was considered oppressive and unjust interference on the part of the mother country in the fiscal and economic affairs of the colonies rather than in theories of political rights. This study gives an account of the revenues of Colonial Virginia and of the methods of their collection. The author makes the point that in spite of much fraud in the collection of the revenues, they were always more than sufficient to provide for the needs of the colony. It was true that now and then the mother country seemed to be granting sums of money to the colony to aid in bridging over a crisis in its finances, but these grants were generally made from royal revenues which were being collected from the colony itself. The Virginia colonists not only paid all of the expenses of government involved in keeping them loyal to Great Britain, and a quit-rent on their lands to the British government besides, but they also furnished troops and money to conserve British interests in other colonies, even aiding in expeditions against Canada and the northern coast of South America. The present monograph is to constitute one chapter in a larger work which Dr. Flippin intends to publish on the Royal Government in Virginia.

Pioneer Laymen of North America. By the Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J. New York: 1915.

Judging from the contents and the judiciously fair manner in which the biographical sketches composing this work are written, the new series of "pioneer" volumes by Father Campbell should prove equally as interesting as the first. For, while in the former writings of the learned author we found many fascinating and inspiring things relative to the saintly and brave missionaries who first brought the message of the Gospel to the redmen of this continent, the present work introduces to us some of the noblest among the laymen, mostly of French origin, who explored and colonized the banks of the St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia, etc. The voyages and hardships endured by such famous captains as Jacques Cartier, Champlain, and Maisonneuve should prove inspiring reading, particularly to youth, in these "mollycoddle" days, when the ideal held up before the rising generation is to receive rather than to give. From the Catholic viewpoint also, Father Campbell continues

to correct the misstatements or misinterpretations of previous writers, largely non-Catholic and frequently prejudiced, who covered the same historical field. This feature alone of the author's works should make them indispensable to Catholics who wish to acquire trustworthy information as to the origins of our holy religion on this side of the Atlantic.

Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware. By John Martin Hammond. With sixty-five illustrations. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914. Pp. 304.

It is a source of considerable surprise to note the number of exceptionally fine houses of the early period of American History as are represented and described in this work upon the Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware. This volume, which is evidently the result of extensive research among the records of family histories, is carefully compiled in condensed form and supplemented by many well-chosen photographs of the interiors as well as the exteriors of these interesting houses. One cannot help but wonder why these exquisite examples of refined domestic architecture are not more often selected as models for modern American homes, representing as they do, happy combinations of house and garden, simple straight-forward planning and good taste in the choice of decorating motives.

Numerous anecdotes illustrating the every-day life of many of the founders of our leading American families, enliven the text and create a desire to trace the facts of history interwoven with them. Altogether the book possesses an interest that distinguishes it from most works of this kind.

Early American Churches. By Aymer Embury, II. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1914. Pp. 189.

This volume is a very good account of the Protestant Church edifices built during the early days, particularly along the Atlantic seaboard, and it gives a clear conception of the quiet and restrained manner of erecting ecclesiastical structures in an architecture of a type not often seen on the continent of Europe yet with many reminiscent features. Faithful historical references accompany the many excellent illustrations, making it a work of authentic value to the student of history and of architecture.

The Old Spanish Missions of California. An historical and descriptive sketch by Paul Elder. Illustrated chiefly from photographs by Western artists. San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, publishers, 1914. Pp. 89.

A volume filled with delightful sketches of the Early Spanish Missions, in prose, poetry and photography, this work attracts the reader to its pages and imparts a sense of some of the piety, charm and color of these wonderful monuments of religious zeal and devotion that are the landmarks of Southern California.

NOTES AND COMMENT

More than once the question has been asked: what have American Catholics done to preserve the history of the Church in this country for future generations? Is there a creditable American Catholic historiography? It would be easy in reply to quote a list of names and volumes—a few prominent writers there have been in the past, and at present nearly every Diocese can boast of one or two priests and laymen who are taking a serious interest in the history of the Church in their locality. But the problem is: whether Catholics in the United States as a corporate body and as members of a religious society which has always given to Tradition a sacred sisterhood with Revelation, realize the solemn duty which rests upon them of gathering up the fragments that survive in order that neither the old memories die out nor the old remembrances lose their charm. If today there were in the United States at some central point a *National Catholic Library*, where a student could have at his disposal every printed page which has ever appeared, either here or abroad, about the Church in America—if there were in this central Library a *National Catholic Archives*, where all documentary evidence for our history were kept intact under ecclesiastical supervision for *bona fide* research-workers—if there were local *Diocesan Historical Societies* all over America, each with its own particular Library, Archives, and Museum and supported by the Diocese; if there were an *American Catholic Historical Association*, composed of all these Diocesan Societies and acting in harmony with the *American Historical Association*—if there were a combined effort on the part of the Church to create in the Library of Congress at the Capitol, a distinctly *National Catholic Archival Section* in the Department of Manuscripts by causing to be preserved there photographic copies of all the documents in the English and Irish episcopal archives, in the Public Record Office and the British Museum of London, in the Simancas, Seville, and Madrid Collections, in the Roman and Italian archives, in the Cuban, South American, and Canadian archives, which in any way relate to the growth and development of Catholicity in the United States—if *archivists* were being trained in all the leading Catholic centres for the preservation of local, diocesan, provincial and national Catholic history—if, more especially still, some generous Catholic or group of Catholics were to endow an *Historical Institute* at the Catholic University of America, well-equipped with maps, source-collections and materials for the study of the Church History of the United States, and with *travelling burses* for the best students, who would then be enabled to work side by side in European Archives with the students of the old world,—in one word, if there were awakened in the United States a *corporate Catholic historical conscience* in this very important matter, then there would be no hesitation in formulating an answer for our inquirers on this question. That these elements of Catholic historical activity do not exist, does not solve the prob-

lem. The problem remains: why have we waited so long for these evidences of our love for American history. It would be an exaggeration to say that we have done nothing or comparatively little. It would be equally an exaggeration to say that we have done the one-hundredth part of what we could have done. We had one historian in the past who can honorably be called great in the purest sense of that word—John Gilmary Shea. But had it not been for the generosity of a few, his splendid volumes would never have seen the light. Had it not been for the large-hearted generosity of a prominent religious Order in this country, his unique library of early *Americana* would have been scattered. His letters—they have fortunately never been published—read like a lamentation; and it gives one pause to reflect on what might have been, if this *corporate Catholic historical conscience* had existed at the time he most needed encouragement and support. Individuals, probably, are not to be blamed for this neglect in the past; but no excuse exists for its continuance in the present. During the past quarter-century, many significant developments in the field of historical activity among non-Catholics have taken shape and are now flourishing. This is especially visible in the growth of Historical Societies in the Northwest and in the Mississippi Valley, where the land once vibrated with the heroic deeds of Catholic priests and laymen. These Societies, like their sister-Societies in the East and West, are largely composed of non-Catholics, but their members are ready and anxious to know the Catholic history of their respective localities. Everywhere the serious Catholic student will find a cordial welcome in these bodies, and if local or national Catholic history be overlooked by these associations, it will be due to the neglect and to the apathetic attitude of Catholics themselves. Every Diocese should have a worthy representative, preferably a priest, in the State Historical Association. *The American Historical Association* with its national scope of activity should be supported by intelligent Catholics in every part of the United States; and where local Catholic Historical Societies exist, they should work in harmony with non-Catholic associations, for their object is the same, their interests are the same, and the benefit derived from one assuredly reflects upon the other. We are all Americans, Catholic or non-Catholic, proud of our citizenship in this country, and we can all meet as brothers of the same household in the laboratory of historical research with the same enthusiastic hopes for the future and with the same strong love for the deeds of the men and the generations who have preceded us in this roseate land of opportunity.

In the *Catholic World* for July, 1915, there is an excellent article on *Black Robes and Brown in California,* by the Rev. J. J. Maher, S. J. The Rev. Edmund T. Shanahan, S. T. D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Catholic University of America, continues his exceptionally well-written papers on *Evolution and Progress,* and it is surprising to note from his pages how widespread the discussion on these two fundamental ideas has grown. This present article, together with the one which appeared in the June issue, is

concerned with the content of these two ideas in the field of historical sciences. Dr. Shanahan has added a very valuable page to the Catholic conception of history.

The *Extracts from the Carroll Papers* published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, (Vol. x, June, 1915, pp. 143-160), are a refreshing glimpse into American Catholic school-boy life abroad in the eighteenth century. The Jesuit Colleges at Liége and Saint Omer attracted American boys in the colonial days, and the name of the College of Saint Omer was potent enough in Virginia to induce the authorities to petition William III to prevent the Catholic boys of Maryland from going there. The Jesuit historian, Father Thomas Hughes, has written on this subject in his *Educational Convoys to Europe in the Olden Time*, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (vol. xxix, 1903, pp. 24-39). Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the signer of the Declaration, was born in 1737. At the age of ten he went to the Jesuit College of Bohemia, Md., and in 1748, went to Saint Omer, remaining abroad until 1765. The letters cover a period of eight years (1750-58) and give us charming pictures of his school life, where "Cousin Carroll" (the future Archbishop of Baltimore), advised him in his choice of studies. "I believe Cousin Jack Carroll will make a good scholar, for he is often first" (p. 144).

There is no doubt that Father Crivelli's article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* on Archbishop Juan de Zumárraga of Mexico (1468-1548) has rescued a noble name from partial oblivion. Mexican Catholic literature is not very rich in biographies of the apostolic men who laid the foundation of its Christian civilization, and apart from a small *Biografía de D. Fray Juan de Zumárraga*, published by Senor Miguel Icazbalceta, in Mexico, 1897, modern readers who are interested in the Church History of this important country, especially during the present period of stress it is undergoing, have few materials to lean upon for an all-round study of a man and a prelate who can be called a great American in the best sense of that much-abused word. Founder of the first school for girls in the New World, the famous Tlaltelolco College, and of our first hospital, the first to set up a printing press in North America, the editor of the first books printed in this country, a philanthropist, a scholar, a patriot, and above all a sincere lover of the Indians, John Zumárraga remains almost unknown to the Catholics farther north. His life and works would form an attractive subject for a University thesis, and in this regard it may interest our readers to learn of a biography of Zumárraga, written in Flemish by a friar of his own order, Father Bartholomew Verelst, O. F. M., and entitled: *Juan Zumárraga, O. F. M., Eerste Bisschop, Aartsbisschop van Mexico: of eenige bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van Nieuw-Spanje* (Roulers, 1907, pp. 231). Zumárraga was recommended to the Holy See by the Emperor Charles V

to be first bishop of Mexico, in 1527. He reached Mexico City in December, 1528, and began at once to bring order into the chaos which followed upon Cortes' return to Spain. As Protector of the Indians, he ranks second only to Las Casas. Although his consecration dates only from 1534, Gams in his *Series Episcoporum* begins his episcopate in the year 1527, the year of his election. According to the tradition of Mexican ecclesiastical history, it was during his first sojourn in Mexico that the well known apparition of Our Lady of Guadaloupe took place (December 12, 1531). Father Verelst's volume is especially interesting because of the new light it throws upon a difficult problem in Bishop Zumárraga's life, namely, his alleged compromising attitude on the question of slavery which Las Casas wished to eradicate root and branch. The old accusation against Zumárraga of destroying systematically all vestiges of the pagan civilization of Mexico as the author has shown, has virtually to be given up as a legend. When Pope Paul III separated New Spain from the Archdiocese of Seville in 1546, Zumárraga was named Archbishop of Mexico. The Bull of Appointment was dated July 8, 1548, but Bishop Zumárraga had passed away a month previous, June 3, 1548, after a score of years spent in organizing the ecclesiastical and educational system of his vast diocese. Fr. Verelst's volume deserves a companion study in English, especially for the benefit of those who may choose to overlook the fact that Holy Cross College, which he founded, not only antedates Harvard by almost a century, but antedates other American educational establishments for girls by nearly three centuries.

We desire to call especial attention to a series of monographs written by Herbert E. Bolton, Ph. D., Professor of History in the University of Texas: 1) *The Jumano Indians in Texas* (1650-1771), reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the Texas Historical Association (vol. xv, No. 1); 2) *Spanish Mission Records at San Antonio* (*ibid.*, vol. x, no. 4, April, 1907); 3) *Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions* (*ibid.*, vol. xi, no. 4, April, 1908); 4) *Father Kino's Lost History, its Discovery and its Value*, reprinted for private circulation from the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (vol. vi, 1911); 5) *Spanish Occupation of Texas* (1519-1690), reprinted from the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, (vol. xvi, no. 1, July, 1912); 6) *Founding of the Missions on the San Gabriel River* (1745-1749), (*ibid.*, vol. xvii, No. 4, April, 1914). These brochures are filled with accurate and sympathetic sidelights on the Catholic history of Texas during the period of the Spanish régime in the Southwest. "One of the anomalies of historical study just now," says Professor Bolton, "is that the oldest fields are the newest. Ancient History, once thought to be an exhausted topic, is at present offering the freshest materials and the liveliest interests. Similarly, in the United States, the Southwest, once the best known and then an almost forgotten portion, is now the subject for a 'revival of learning.' This section was not only known, but books were written about it in the sixteenth century. New Mexico boasts a history in the form of an epic

poem, filling a volume, and printed in 1610 [VILLAGRA, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*. Alcalá, 1610.] Several eighteenth century works dealt largely with New Mexico, Arizona, and California. And yet the serious study of the history and of the bibliography of historical writings relating to this region is still in its infancy." As an example of this almost forgotten work, Professor Bolton describes Father Kino's *Favores Celestiales*, discovered some eight years ago by Professor Bolton himself in the *Archivo General y Público* of Mexico City. Catholic scholars are under a lasting debt of gratitude to Dr. Bolton for his painstaking studies on what is so essentially an important page in our history here in the United States. More and more it is becoming evident that the West and the Southwest deserve a wider recognition in the general history of the Church in America, and every effort should be made to stimulate research-workers among the clergy in this section. Professor Bolton's monographs are models worthy of imitation in their scholarship and breadth of vision.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi, has sent us the *Official Guide to the Historical Materials in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History*, (Nashville, 1914). It is a compact little volume of 147 pages, and comprises the Director's Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Reports. Mississippi is probably the only State in the Union which possesses at the present time a complete set of transcripts of its colonial records. Mississippi's history, begins with the tragic march of De Soto in 1540. It contains some of the noblest pages of the work of La Salle (1682). The names of D'Iberville, Sauvollé and Bienville are permanently linked with its history; and for a century down to the establishment of the Territory of Mississippi (1798), there is sufficient material to form a good-sized volume of Catholic History. This *Official Guide* would form a good starting-point for Catholic students in the State.

The excellent Index to the seventh volume of the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1913-1914* (The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1914), enables the student to find easily and quickly all references to his particular subject. Among these interesting references are those to the difficult topic of Catholic education in Canada, by R. F. McWilliams in his paper: *Our Neighbors of the South*. Special notice should be given by Catholic scholars to Dr. Garver's paper: *Montana as a Field for Historical Research* (pp. 99-112), where he speaks of De Smet, Palladino, and Ronan.

The Maine Catholic Historical Magazine, which is published monthly at Waterville, Me., under the auspices of the Bishop of Portland and the Maine Catholic Historical Society, continues to print excellent monographs on

subjects of Catholic interest to that State. The *Magazine* is not only proving its value for the resurrection of the forgotten past but is also fitting itself into the future with its records of current Catholic events. With the June (1915) issue, the fourth volume of this publication closes. "During its existence of two years," the editors tell us, "the *Magazine* has done its best, with the feeble resources at its disposal, to render available in part to the great mass of our people the early Catholic history of our State, which is in truth a story in which one and all may take a laudable pride; for it is doubtful whether in another State of the Union the Church has had a more eventful career since that summer day in 1604, when she raised her standard on Sainte Croix Island to the present moment, when, in the Diocesan Chronology, we are recording the various milestones in her constant march towards her glorious destiny." There are more than one hundred and fifty priests, more than one hundred and thirty-five churches, and a Catholic population of about one hundred and thirty thousand souls in Maine today. Surely no publication of such worth as the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* need be hampered in its work for want of intelligent financial support.

Three Historical Events in Maine, by the well-known Jesuit historian, the Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J., contains sketches of the Golden Jubilee of St. John's Church, Bangor, Maine (November 5, 1906); the Cornerstone Laying of the Church of the Holy Redeemer, Bar Harbor, Maine (August 11, 1907); and the Reconsecration of the Rasle Monument at Norridgewok (August 23, 1907).

The Catholic Church in New Hampshire has the unique honor of possessing among its historic heritage the names of the Barber family, who became converts early in the nineteenth century. One wonders why the New Hampshire Historical Society, which recently published its Membership List, has not a single Catholic clergyman among its members.

In his *Notes on the Care, Cataloguing, Calendaring and Arranging of Manuscripts* (Washington, D. C., 1913), the Chief Assistant of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick, has written a serviceable guide or aid to the literature of archive material. There is no more important matter to the entire Catholic body at large in the United States than the preservation of documents of the present for use in the future. Mr. Fitzpatrick's success in the arrangement of the Department of Manuscripts makes him an authority on this subject, and it is with pleasure that we announce an article from his pen in the near future on the methods to be used in preserving ecclesiastical documents.

The *Catholic Red Book of Western Maryland* is a unique publication, containing the history of the Church in Maryland with special articles on the parishes of Cumberland, Frostburg, Lonaconing, Mt. Savage, Midland, Westernport, Barton, Hagerstown, Hancock, Frederick, and Oakland. A *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Maryland,* by Cardinal Gibbons, gives this little work a more than local value. Numerous portraits and engravings adorn the book, and we know of no better way to bring the work of the Church in any given section more forcibly before the minds of Catholics than through such a medium. It helps to consecrate the work done by the devoted clergy in the parishes for future memory, and with the long published lists of parishioners, as given in the *Red Book,* it will facilitate local historians in their efforts to preserve the records of their different fields. The excellent description of SS. Peter and Paul's Church at Cumberland, Md., is one of those well-written pages, which are too often hidden away from the general reader. It would be interesting to know more about the community of Bavarian Carmelites who had charge of this parish from 1864-1875. We come across the names of many friends who are still in the land of the living and who may feel somewhat uncomfortable at the praise bestowed upon their efforts in the Vineyard, but for history's sake, it is well that such records be written now, lest some of these instructive pages be lost to sight.

In thanking the Capuchin Fathers of Western Maryland for sending us the foregoing volume as well as that entitled *Fifty Years of St. Peter and Paul's Church, at Cumberland, Md., 1848-1898,* we desire to call the attention of our readers to the eminent value all such publications are to the students of the *American Church History Seminar,* at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. The Seminar Library should contain all publications of this character. The present volume has been seriously compiled. Many letters, which might otherwise be lost, relating to the labors of the Redemptorists in the Cumberland Valley (1841-66), are printed in the book. We come intimately in contact with the labors of such missionaries as Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia, and Father F. X. Seelos, the eminent Pennsylvanian of Civil War fame. The work of the Carmelites (1864-1875) is given, but no reason is assigned for their departure from Cumberland, June 25, 1875. The May Laws of 1875 exiled many of the Capuchins from Germany; but what was Germany's loss was America's gain. The incidents related year by year in this Memorial Volume show an interest in Catholic history which is not common to the ordinary Catholic congregation. It is worthy of imitation in every parish in the United States.

An article which will appeal strongly to the student is that by Dr. Solon J. Buck in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* entitled *Historical Activities in the Old Northwest* (Vol. II, no. 1, June, 1915, pp. 74-106). We recommend it to the Catholic bibliographer of this section.

The *Handbook of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Philadelphia, 1915), contains a succinct history of the Society, a List of its Members, and the Constitution and By-Laws of this pioneer organization. An Index of the *Records* and *Researches* is in course of preparation, we understand, by the Rev. Joseph L. J. Kirlin, S. T. L., of Philadelphia.

Une Tribu Privilegée, by the Rev. P. Pacifique, O. M. C. (Extract from *Nouvelle France, Quebec, 1910*), and the *Souvenir d'un troisième Centenaire (1610-1910) en Pays Micmac,* published by the Capuchin Fathers at St. Anne de Ristigouche (1910), contain the story of the Micmac Indians of Canada and Nova Scotia, and the description (in French, Micmac, and English) of the celebration of the third centenary of their conversion in June 1610.

Acta et Dicta, a collection of historical data regarding the origin and growth of the Catholic Church in the Northwest, and published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, continues its scholarly reprints of material relating to the Archdiocese of St. Paul. The Rev. Dr. Schaefer, the historian of the Archdiocese, contributes an article, *The History of the Diocese of St. Paul,* in the July issue, 1915 (vol. IV, pp. 32-75), which deserves to be republished in pamphlet form for easy reference. Among the officers of the St. Paul Catholic Historical Society is the Rev. William Busch, *Licencié en sciences morales et historiques* (Louvain), one of the last of Alfred Canon Cauchie's students at the Belgian University. Father Busch returned to America after a number of years spent in Cauchie's Seminar, well-equipped with the present-day historical methods for his important work in St. Paul.

The Minnesota Historical Society has begun the publication of a series of *Minnesota History Bulletins,* of which the first number, *The Relation of the State to Historical Work,* by Professor Alvord, has just reached us. Dr. Alvord is too well known to need an introduction to our readers. His activities in the historical field have done much to arouse an historical-mindedness upon the necessity of preserving the memory of the past and the duty which is incumbent upon the State to give material aid for the encouragement of historical research. "Unfortunately," he says, "there has not developed among the public a consciousness of the seriousness of this duty nor of the correct method of performing it. We here in America have been slow to learn that training is essential for the performance of public business. The self-confidence of Americans, the doctrine of equality among men, the predominance of the spoils system in politics have made us distrust the specialist. We are gradually emerging, however, from this provincial viewpoint. Most of us now prefer to call a physician when we are sick, to employ a lawyer when we go to court, and to hire a stenographer when we wish to dictate a

letter. Unfortunately the public is not yet awakened to the need of seeking out a well-trained historian when there is demand that history be written. The truth of this statement is proved by the large yearly sale of worthless books of so-called history, by the assigning of history teaching to any member of the high school faculty who has a convenient hour vacant, and by the employment by our States of the untrained to expend the money appropriated for historical activities. Almost inexplicable is that heedlessness that is exhibited by our historical societies and institutions when they make appointments for historical work. The profession of historian requires greater, more careful, and more varied training than that of lawyer or physician. The methods of historical science are the result of a long development and comprise a body of learning that can be acquired only after laborious efforts No one is fitted to write on any field without some knowledge of many other fields. American history cannot be divorced from its European background."

It is often claimed that the requirements of the modern-day historian will lift historical writing from the realm of the people. "This criticism," says Dr. Alvord, "is based upon a wrong interpretation of the duty of the men who are to have charge of the historical work of the State. Theirs is not the duty of writing history for popular consumption. They should not set up as Francis Parkmans. Their duty is no less important, although much more humble. It is the collection of the sources of knowledge and their publication. They are the drudges of the historical fraternity, for they prepare the material which the would-be Francis Parkmans will use; but in order that the future historians may do their work correctly, these drudges must prepare for them the materials in a careful, orderly, and scientific manner." The work of the historical societies falls under three headings: first, the collection of data; second, its care; and third, its publication. As an example of the value of preserving such material, Dr. Alvord shows how badly Mr. Roosevelt was led astray in his *Winning of the West*, when he claimed that the blame of burning persons for witchcraft which justly rests on the Puritans of seventeenth-century New England "must likewise fall on the Catholic French of eighteenth-century Illinois." In answer to the question: what has the United States done for the preservation of our valuable national archives? —he answers boldly: Nothing. "If we were to test the degree of civilization that has been reached by the citizens of the United States according to a principle that was laid down by a writer on the archives of Russia, namely, 'the care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the manuscripts of its past may serve as a true measure of the degree of civilization to which it has attained,' the United States would have to be assigned a position not far above the tribes of darkest Africa. . . ."

The conditions in national archival economy, or in the lack of it, may justly be paralleled in the absence of a federated archival spirit in other cir-

cles. Dr. Alvord's paper is filled with instances of wanton or ignorant destruction of priceless bundles of papers in many parts of the United States. He tells the story of the Santa Fé manuscripts which were sold as "manuscript rubbish" to the merchants of the town, and how valuable records and deeds were used to wrap up groceries, nails and other household purchases. He tells the story of the destruction of large numbers of eighteenth-century documents, dealing with the history of the French settlement of Cahokia, by a circuit clerk in house-cleaning time. The American Universities are slowly awaking to the great obligation they are under of caring for national, state and local archival material. It has taken years of constant and patient effort to arouse this sentiment, and it may take an equally long period to arouse a similar sentiment in other circles for the preservation of other archives. If any institution in this country does not receive its proper recognition from historians of the future, it will be because those who are the rightful custodians of these precious relics of long-forgotten activity are not cognizant of their duty to history.

To see ourselves as others see us may be possible even without a gift from the gods, and there is no more instructive and, shall we say, more amusing a pastime than in reading descriptions of the United States by travellers from abroad. Some modern Hakluyt will one day gather up all these travellers' accounts into a collection, and Moreau de Saint Méry with George Whitefield, Dickens, the Abbé Klein, the Vicomte de Meaux, Arnold Bennett and others will find a place in these modern visitors who so often saw us as we are not. One interesting account is the *Meine Reise nach Nord-America im Jahre 1842*, by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Salzbacher, Domcapitular of St. Stephen's in Vienna. The Riggs Library of Georgetown University possesses a copy of this scarce book, and it is especially valuable because the Dean of St. Stephen's came here as an official representative of the Leopoldine Association in order to learn the condition of the Church in this country and more particularly that of the German Catholics in the United States. He landed at New York, April 17, 1842, putting up at the Astor Hotel, to which he rode in a conveyance "which resembled one of the hearses used at St. Stephen's for funerals" (p. 83), and stayed there but a few days owing to Bishop Hughes' absence. From New York he went on to Philadelphia by train, and was invited by Bishop Kenrick to be his guest. Bishop Conwell had just died, and Father Salzbacher assisted at his funeral as assistant Priest. He visited the secular and ecclesiastical institutions of the city, and gives a list of the thirty-one non-Catholic sects of the city with a sketch of their history. There is also an exceptionally well-written description of the Native American movement. At Baltimore the Dean laid the cornerstone of the new Redemptorist Church, May 1, 1842. Georgetown, Richmond, and Charleston were next visited. At this last town he arrived too late to see Bishop England, who died some weeks before his coming. The journey was continued to Pittsburgh, and the descriptions of the old-

time stage coach and canal boat (pp. 164-165) are among the best in the book. Covington, Cincinnati, and Louisville, where he met Van Buren, were next visited. From Louisville he went on to St. Louis, Vincennes, Logansport, Fort Wayne, Toledo, and Detroit, and returned to New York by way of Buffalo, Albany, and Boston. He sailed from New York, July 17, 1842, after a journey of 100 days, having covered as he says, ten thousand English miles, and having visited eleven Dioceses and seventeen States. There are few books of the period giving more accurate information or affording a better insight into the Catholic Church during the years of its first great crisis. The copy of the volume in the Georgetown University Collection has a large map with a glimpse of the Church's growth up to 1845. The twenty-one Dioceses are well-defined and the principal Catholic centres named therein. The roads are well marked, and it is very interesting to notice how the Catholic Missions cluster along the roads from Eastport in Maine down to Houston, Texas. Judging solely from the map, Ohio would seem to be the most thickly populated Catholic section of the States at this time.

Speaking of travels in this country, there is one volume which will always be received with mixed feelings by its readers: *A Brief Account of the Author's interview with his countrymen, and of the parts of the Emerald Isle whence they emigrated, together with a direct reference to their present Location in the Land of their Adoption, during his travels through various States of the Union in* 1854 *and* 1855, by Jeremiah O'Donovan. This interesting and humorous book was published at Pittsburgh in 1864, and though written as a means of praising every one who had purchased his *Poetic History of Ireland,* it is so overdone in its flattery that it makes delightful reading and gives the reader a familiar glimpse into Irish life in America before the war. This book would be somewhat offensive in most Irish-American circles today, but it has its own historical value in the picture of the times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

In the two previous issues of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, the scope of this *Bibliography* and the divisions to be followed in its compilation were explained and defined. The *Introductory Note* described the value of such a work for the scientific study of the sources and materials of American Church History, and the paramount necessity of *Historical Methodology* in approaching this study. Among the operations which are guided by the laws and principles of *Method*, comes the knowledge of what is known as the *Auxiliary Sciences* of history. At the present day, everything in the historical sciences depends upon the sources. The sources for each and every portion of his subject must be thoroughly examined, in order that the historian may ascertain the degree of trustworthiness they contain and the value of the information he has culled from them. This systematic examination is guided by the *Auxiliary Sciences*. And although not all of them are necessary for the student of American ecclesiastical history, nevertheless a knowledge of their laws and a more than superficial acquaintance with their literature will give to his work a firmer solidity and a more scholarly appearance. History is in reality the meeting-ground of all the sciences, and no avenue towards a complete knowledge of the subject in question should be barred up. For the ecclesiastical historian the chief auxiliary sciences are: *Philosophy*, and especially *Scholasticism*; *Theology*, both dogmatic and moral; *Canon Law*, which properly judged in its relation to Church history, is the Gospel of Christ in actual practice amongst Christians; *Liturgy*, and *Hagiography*. *Theology* is of supreme importance. It is not only dangerous but unscientific to separate Church history and Theology. One of the seven capital offenses of Modernism was the false concept of a possible distinction between the Christ of Dogma and the Christ of History. Theology creates in the mind and heart of the historian an instinct which guides and an atmosphere which clarifies, without which false quantities are visualized and unwholesome judgments are made. If it be true as Melchior Cano has said that the theologian "should be well versed in history, as is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error," it is equally true that the historian must be permeated with a true theological concept of the relations between the natural and supernatural, between nature and grace, between the ordinary and the miraculous, if his judgments are to be true to the divine plan of creation and if his examination of the human side of the Church's activities is to be given its proper and unexaggerated place in the life-story of the object around which all his investigations are centred. In all advanced ecclesiastical historical work, theology and philosophy must be assumed as already forming parts of the student's general culture. Apart from these major auxiliary sciences, there are a certain number of subordinate helps, which are equally indispensable. These sciences, which are ordinarily covered in the graduate courses of modern universities, are usually given in the following order:

I. PHILOLOGY

Philology might be defined as the knowledge of the language of the sources to be used; but nowadays it has a much wider sense. In its broadest sense it embraces the entire group of sciences which help to make known the life of a people, even before their entrance into the pages of history. A more restricted sense of the word excludes all but the study of the classic Græco-Roman antiquity,—the *Alterthumswissenschaft* of German science. Christian Philology strictly speaking is equivalent to Patrology and the study of ancient Christian literature. All this, however, is unnecessary for the American ecclesiastical historian. It is rather Linguistics than Philology in this wider sense which the student needs. Here again a distinction must be made, for Linguistics is not the mere knowledge of the languages of the sources. It, too, has a more profound meaning; but this deeper knowledge is hardly required for American church history, unless it be for the group of North American Indian tongues. What the student needs primarily is a practical knowledge of the best *grammars* and *dictionaries* for the languages of his materials. For that reason we confine our bibliographical data to the same.

The languages of the sources for American ecclesiastical history are for the most part Latin, Spanish, French, English, Italian, Portuguese, German, Dutch, and the North American Indian tongues. The Latin of our source-documents is mainly Church Latin, and therefore easy to understand and to interpret. In some cases, however, strange terms and exotic phrases—the heritage of the Middle Ages, have continued to be used in sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts, and a careful and judicious study must be made of these words and phrases, if these exact modern equivalents are to be given. From a philological standpoint we are badly in need of a *Chartularium Americanum*, containing all the Bulls, Briefs, Constitutions, Motu Proprios, Letters, etc., etc., from the Holy See and the Roman Congregations to the Church in the United States, together with a *Glossary* of the difficult or abstruse terms in these documents.

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"Nearly two hundred native languages, besides minor dialects," says the eminent American ethnologist, Mr. James Mooney, of the Smithsonian Institution (article *Indians* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VII, p. 754), "were spoken north of Mexico, classified into fifty-one distinct linguistic stocks, as given below, of which nearly one-half were represented in California. Those marked with an asterisk are extinct, while several others are now reduced to less than a dozen individuals keeping the language: Algonquian, Athapascan (Déné), Attacapan, *Beothukan, Caddoan, Chimakuan, *Chimarikan, Chimmesyan, Chinookan, Chitimachan, *Chumashan, *Coahuiltecan (Pakawá), Copehan (Wintun), Costanoan, Eskimauan, *Esselenian, Iroquoian, Kalapooian, *Karankawan, Keresan, Kiowan, Kitunahan, Koluschan (Tlingit), Kulanapan (Pomo), *Kusan, Mariposan (Yokuts), Moquelumnan (Miwok), Muskogean, Pujunan (Maidu), Quoratean (Karok), *Salinan, Salishan, Shahaptian, Shoshonean, Siouan, Skittagetan (Haida), Takilman, *Timucuan, *Tonikan, Tonkawan, Uchean, *Waiilatpuan (Cayuse), Wakashan (Nootka), Washoan, Weitspekan (Yurok), Wishoskan, Yakonan, *Yanan (Nosi), Yukian, Yuman, Zunian."

The *List of Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnol., Bulletin 58, Washington, D. C., 1914), contains the best bibliography on the subject of the Indian languages and customs.[1] "The study of American Ethnology," says Shea, "has always been fettered by want of anything like reliable grammars and dictionaries, and while compelled to rely on scanty and erroneous vocabularies, must ever remain in its infancy. Yet a vast number of tribes were the scenes of missionary labors of zealous and educated men who carefully studied the language of their flock and have left behind them grammatical treatises and dictionaries more or less complete, the value of which in a philological point of view over the random words taken down in a few hours by a traveller, must be too apparent to need any discussion or proof."[2] John Gilmary Shea was the first serious student in Catholic circles of the Indian tongues, and the field here for future Catholic scholars is one of the best in American historical studies. "Can it at any time," writes the Rev. Edward Jacker (article on the *Mental Capacity of the American Indian as indi-*

[1] A good résumé of the work done by the Smithsonian Institution on this subject from a Catholic viewpoint will be found in an article by M. M. MELINE, *Ethnologic Studies among the North American Indians*, in the *Catholic World*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 255 ss.

[2] SHEA, *A French-Onondaga Dictionary from a manuscript of the seventeenth century*, p. ii. New York, 1860.

cated by his Speech, in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*, vol. III, 1878, p. 273), "be importunate to say a word in favor of a people with whose speech, as it moves along in simple strains of praise and thanksgiving, names dear to every Catholic heart are—let us hope, forever—interwoven? Whose fertile vocabulary is never found at fault when wanted to give adequate expression to doctrines the most sublime and consoling?" At the time of his death, Shea had collected a large and valuable library of over twelve thousand volumes which was rich in Indian linguistics,[1] and he began the publication (1860) of a series of grammars and dictionaries, entitled *Library of American Linguistics*. His efforts received such poor support that he was obliged to discontinue the work.

Among the many works of a helpful nature towards a broader knowledge of the American Indians, the following may be mentioned:

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Many articles have been written by Catholic scholars on the languages and institutions of the Indians. Among these are the following articles by R. R. ELLIOTT, *The Relation of the Catholic Church with the Indians of North America*, in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*, vol. XIIII, pp. 45-71; *Indian Bibliographies*, *ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 698; vol. XIX, p. 545; vol. XX, pp. 238, 721; *Last of the Huron Missions*, *ibid.*, vol. XIIII, p. 526; *Frederick Baraga among the Ottawas*, *ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 106; *Government Secularization of the Education of Catholic Indian Youth*, *ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 148. The student interested in this study will find a very valuable guide in the *List of Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology with Index to Authors and Titles*, issued by the Washington Government Printing Office, 1914. This *List* consists of *Annual Reports* (1881-1911); *Bulletins* mainly of a bibliographical nature, (1887-1914); *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vols. I-IX (1877-1988); *Introductions*, (1877-1880); and *Miscellaneous Publications*, (1880-1907). Almost all the works listed in this valuable catalogue are out of print and must be studied in the Library of the Smithsonian Institution or the Library of Congress, where complete collections exist.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] Now part of the Library at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.